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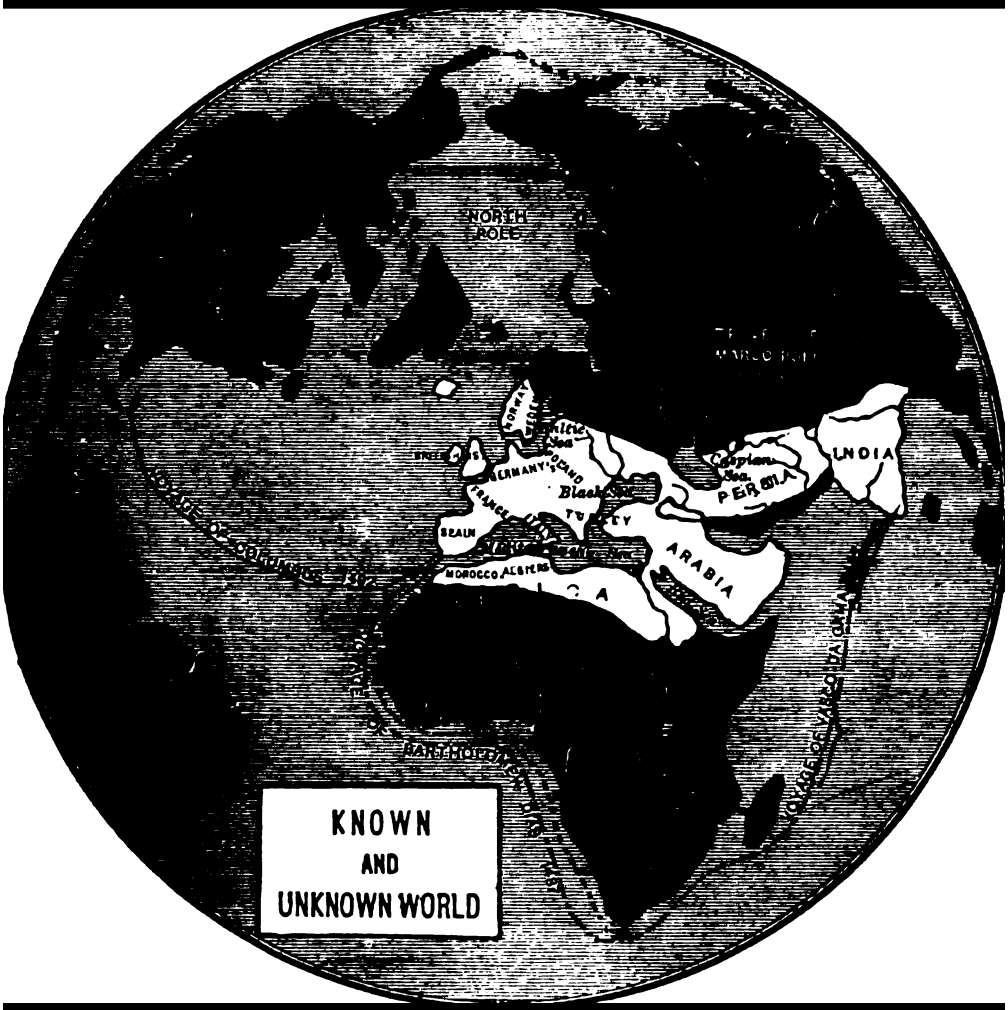

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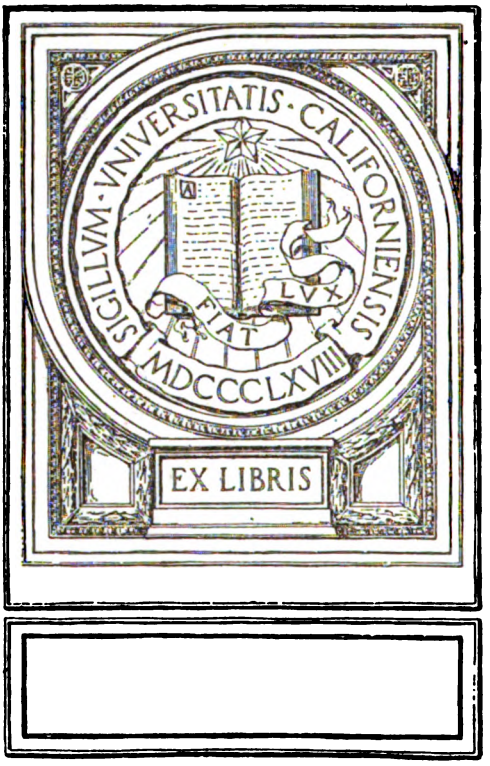

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These are the Lines that ſhew thy Face but thoſe
That ſhew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee
Thy Faire-Diſcoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Beſt ſhew thy Spirit and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Braſſe without-but Golde within.

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The United States

A History of Three Centuries

1607–1904

Population, Politics, War, Industry, Civilization

By

William Estabrook Chancellor

Author of "A Text-Book of American History"

and

Fletcher Willis Hewes

Author of "Statistical Atlas of the United States"

In Ten Parts

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press
1904

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AND
FLETCHER WILLIS HEWES

Published, September, 1904

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The United States—A History of Three Centuries: : : : : : : :

Part I

Colonization, 1607-1697

The Record of the Settlement of the Twelve English Colonies of the Seventeenth Century, Preceded by a Brief Review of the Period of Discovery and Settlement

With 150 Maps and Diagrams

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press
1904

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PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

In presenting to the public the first volume of a new comprehensive *History of the United States*, it is fitting to make clear the general purpose and character of the work and to summarize the distinctive features which give it a reason for existence at a time when students and readers have already available for their use so long a series of histories covering more or less similar ground. It is, of course, the case that not even the specialist whose entire time can be given to the subject-matter is in a position to master the contents of the full series of historical records and monographs connected with one division or another of American history, as these are brought into print on the part of individual writers, or of historical societies. Many of these monographs, important as presenting the results of the latest investigations by trained scholars, are, in any case, available for the requirements of comparatively small circles of readers. There has been during the past few years a largely increased interest, both in university circles and with the general public, in the study of the origin and development of the movements and influences which have shaped the history of this great and energetic nation, a nation which is, at the beginning of the twentieth century, taking so large a place among the states of the world. The

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work done during the past few years by these special investigators constitutes in itself a reason for the preparation of a comprehensive narrative which shall cover the entire record of the national history and development.

The American people has come to a new point of view in its outlook upon the world and in its relations to other communities. In national relations, both political and economic, the United States is now occupying a leading place. The experiment of government by democracy, which a few decades back might properly have been considered as at best but tentative, and as possessing simply a prospect of success, has, at the beginning of this twentieth century, demonstrated the value of freedom and of opportunity for the individual, and the practicability of maintaining a government which, while conceding the largest measure of liberty for the development of the energy, the intelligence, and the ambition of its citizens, may also possess assured strength as a political organization. In religion, in government, in industry, and in education, the United States constitutes an example of a state based on a free democracy, and our citizens are presenting from decade to decade, upon a vast stage of national action, the good and the evil of popular and representative self-government. It is the purpose of this History to present, in a comprehensive and carefully proportioned narrative, an account of the beginnings of the national existence and of the successive stages in the evolution of our distinctive national qualities and institutions.

The record covers the events from the beginning of

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the colonization of the Continent in 1607 to the close of 1904.

The History will include, in addition to the record of political events, of the wars connected with these, of the expansion of territory, and of the growth of population, carefully proportioned studies of the development of the people in industry, in commerce, in education, and in literature, and of the varying phases of religious life; and with these studies will be presented pictures of the social life of the people in its successive phases.

The writers conceived the history of the American people in the form of a series of panoramas displaying the progress of American civilization. Thus conceived, an adequate presentation of our national history must give full space to the specification and definition of the increasing economic activities of the people. A presentation of this character requires, naturally, for the later periods of the history of the country, a much larger space relatively to that accorded to the earlier periods than previous historians have hitherto found space for in writing the events of recent times. It is perhaps a truism to point out that origins and causes constitute but a first division in history; in these volumes, the attempt will be made to give no less space to results and conclusions than to causes.

According to the present plan, the ten Volumes or Parts will be issued under the titles below specified, and their several narratives will cover the periods indicated.

PART 1.—COLONIZATION	1607–1697
PART 2.—COLONIAL UNION	1698–1774

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PART 3.—	REVOLUTION AND CONSTITUTION	1775–1788
PART 4.—	THE EARLY REPUBLIC	1789–1821
PART 5.—	INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING	1822–1845
PART 6.—	THE GREAT DEBATE	1846–1860
PART 7.—	CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION	1861–1869
PART 8.—	THE NEW NORTH AND NEW SOUTH	1870–1885
PART 9.—	ECONOMIC CRISES	1886–1897
PART 10.—	A WORLD POWER	1898–1904

Each Volume or Part will be complete in itself for the period covered and will be sold separately.

It is the plan to have the Parts issued at intervals of three or four months, so that from three to four Parts can be published each year. Each Volume will be divided into four subdivisions or sections:

1. Population and Politics.
2. War and Conquest.
3. Industry and Commerce.
4. Civilization.

The First Section deals with the various phases of discovery, settlement, expansion of territory, immigration, race, government, domestic politics, and international relations. With these, will be included such other matters as have a necessary connection with these larger subjects, but the consideration of these subordinate topics will, of necessity, be in outline. This first section may be considered as presenting the main narrative.

The Second Section presents the record of war and of conquest, chiefly in their military phases. This portion of the narrative includes the Indian wars, the intercolonial wars, the wars with foreign nations, the war of secession, and the wars of conquest. In

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this section, consideration will also be given to all matters concerning the army and the navy during times of peace.

The Third Section will comprise, presented in sections of similar character, certain continuous narratives that will run through the entire series of volumes. Among the more important of the topics so presented will be agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. This section may be emphasized as constituting a peculiarly distinctive feature of the history, and the space set apart for it in the later volumes will be proportionately large.

The Fourth Section will be divided into four subsections devoted respectively to religion and morality, literature and art, education, and social life. Of these, the last will give pictures of successive social conditions during the periods covered by the several volumes, and will also attempt to present a summary of the results of the national activities. In each volume of the series, excepting the first, there will be a final chapter presenting an account of the chief events of European history of the same period, in so far as these events can be directly connected with, or have any important influence upon, American affairs. Such a chapter affords an opportunity for a convenient comparison of the achievements and of the changing social conditions of the United States, as compared with the achievements and conditions, during the same period, of the other great states of the world.

The authors explain, as follows, the general policy that has been adopted in the matter of the spelling of proper names and of names from foreign tongues. It

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is the intention to print, according to the present conventional forms, proper names which are fairly familiar as occurring frequently in current literature. Proper names which are not already familiar in English literature will be given in the form utilized in the language of origin or in such rendering of this as will best accord with the accepted principles of orthography. It is, for instance, now generally understood that the explorer Raleigh used for his name in the greater number of instances the form *Ralegh*. The fact, however, that the first mentioned form has been utilized for a long series of American cities and towns seems to be a sufficient reason for accepting this form for the history. The more important instances of this character will be explained in notes at the end of the volumes. In the spelling of other words, the accepted routine of the best American authorities has been followed. The authors have found it preferable to be conservative in the use of capitals, preferring, for instance, the form of Chesapeake bay to Chesapeake *Bay*.

The plan for a history of this distinctive character and comprehensiveness originated with Mr. Fletcher W. Hewes, who is the author of the well-known *Statistical Atlas of the United States*, and who has for a series of years been accepted as a leading authority in the department of statistical and economic history.

Mr. Hewes has the responsibility for the preparation of Section III. of the several volumes of the History, the work in which is the result of a long series of original investigations the difficulty and extent of which can be fully realized only by scholars who have themselves been charged with a similar

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task. The record presented in Section III. may fairly be claimed as a distinctive contribution to American history.

Mr. Hewes has also prepared the diagrams, graphic perspectives, and a considerable proportion of the maps, and has given his special attention to all divisions of the work which present statistical or economic results. It is believed that these chapters should be found not only of novel interest to the general reader, but of exceptional value for the special student, and for men of practical business affairs.

Mr. Wm. E. Chancellor prepares Sections I., II., and IV. of each division of the narrative, and has the editorial responsibility for the entire work.

Mr. Chancellor brings to his task the results of many years given to the study of American history and of large experience in the teaching of this history in the classroom and from the lecture platform.

His recently published text-book on American history has already been accepted as one of the most authoritative and valuable works within its compass.

It is the belief of the publishers that Mr. Chancellor's clear-cut and vigorous style, his dramatic and picturesque presentation of events, and his critical and discriminating characterization of the men about whom American history has been shaped and whose careers are themselves a large factor in such history, will serve to give to readers who are already familiar with the subject fresh interest in it; while the younger readers of the later generation will, it is believed, secure from this history information and interest not to be found in any other single work.

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PREFACE

In the Publishers' Announcement have been set forth the general purpose and character of the work. The statements there presented render unnecessary any detailed specification of the plan and material contained in the first volume. The plan is also made apparent in the table of contents, and conforms substantially to the general scheme as outlined in the announcement.

The several purposes of the narrative of the first volume may be briefly summarized as follows:

To present a brief account of the discoveries of America as constituting together an event in the general history of the world;

To outline the story of the chief events of the 16th century, not only on the American Continent, but in Europe, in so far as these events affected American conditions;

To indicate the influence of European events and conflicts upon American colonization and development;

To narrate, in due proportion, the story of each of the twelve American colonies of the 17th century;

To emphasize the genuine heroism of the colonial life of that eventful and dramatic period;

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To make clear the meagreness of the economic resources that were available during that period as compared with the abounding vitality of the religious and political life of the colonists;

To account for the likenesses and the contrasts presented by the English colonial conditions in America as compared with those of other nationalities in the American colonies;

To set forth the influence of the American Indians upon the continued existence and the development of these colonies;

To prepare the way for consideration (in the later volumes of the work) of the varied causes that led to what may be called the final Americanizing of the varied national elements from which were made up the people of the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The attention of the reader is called to the notes and the references that precede the index.

The list of friends and correspondents from whom valuable co-operation has been secured in the preparation of this work for the press is too considerable to make it practicable to specify the names in detail. We must here express our cordial thanks to the librarians, professors, instructors, and historical students whose assistance in our task has proved of essential value, and without whose co-operation the task would in fact hardly have been practicable. Acknowledgments are also due to the senior member of the publishing house, whose counsel, criticisms, and suggestions have been found of material service.

THE AUTHORS.

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Part One

Population and Politics

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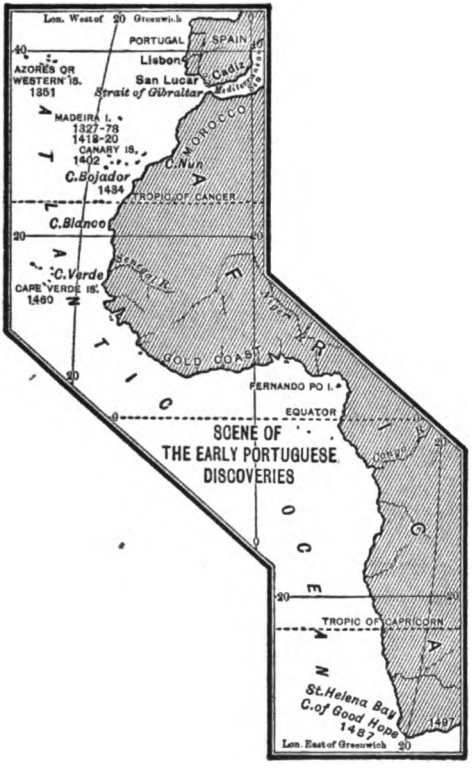

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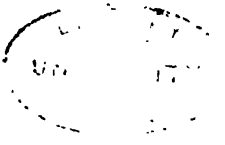

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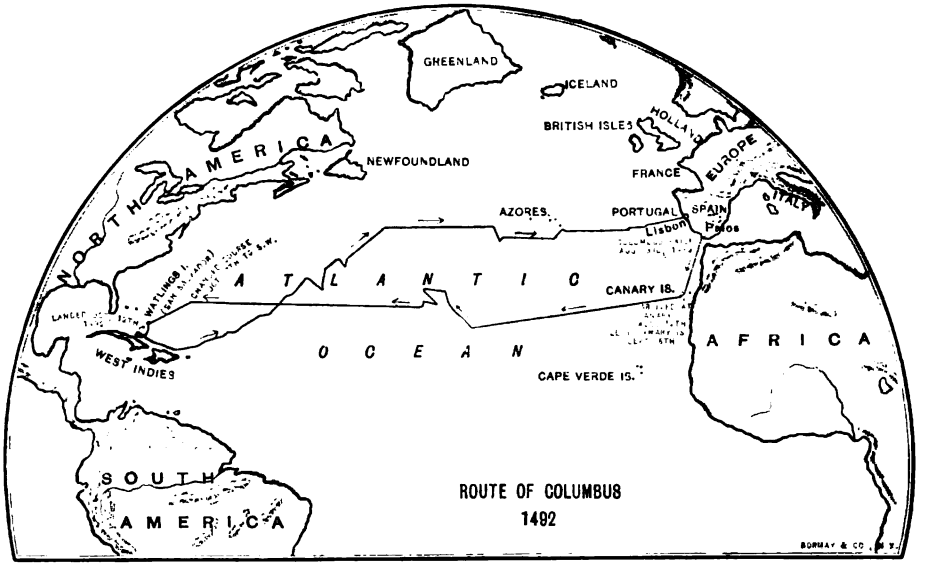

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CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW SPAIN

1492–1540

FROM the conquest of Granada in 1492 to the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, the throne of Spain was the most commanding in the world. Her sovereigns supported their state magnificently. They were rich with spoils plundered from Moors and Jews and with wealth wrung from the industries and the commerce of the Netherlands, as well as from the treasures of the New World. In Spanish chronicles, 1492 is the *annus mirabilis*, for in that year, a few months after the taking of Granada, the Moorish Capital, an empire beyond the Atlantic was given to Spain by the Italian sea-captain, Christopher Columbus. Through the marriages of her reigning Houses of Castile and of Aragon with the princely Houses of Austria and of Burgundy, Spain was charged by inheritance with the leadership in both hemispheres. Her brilliant and energetic King, Charles I., who in 1516 succeeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, was soon elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and thereafter was known as Charles V. Either as sovereign or as overlord, he held Germany, Austria,

Expansion of Spain

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all the Netherlands, Burgundy, a part of southern France, Milan, southern Italy, all of Spain, and the vast Spanish territories in the New World. His son and successor, Philip II., never became Emperor; but instead of the German part of the Holy Roman Empire, he possessed Portugal and all the Portuguese territories in America, in Africa, in India, and in the East Indies. In extent and in resources, his dominions equaled those of any other ruler in history.

During all these hundred years, Spain alone had the men and the surplus energy for great enterprises in America, which she completely dominated. Her sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles, and Philip, pursued consistently in all their realms the one great policy that long wars with the Moorish infidels had ground into the Spanish character, the policy of absolute social solidarity, political and religious. The same policy often led them into offensive warfare for the preservation or extension of the Catholic faith in the realms of others.

The superiority of Spain in Europe and her supremacy in America from 1492 until 1588, gave to that century its distinctively Spanish character. An aggressive force streamed from that land of latter-day Romans, through all those eventful years. In Spain, Austria, and Algiers, and upon the Mediterranean, the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, were the indispensable champions of Christendom against Islam. In our own American history, but two events of any importance to the destiny of this soil were influenced by the acts of Spain before she herself, from sheer incapacity to change her policy and to see the new light, became

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the third power in Europe, inferior to both France and England. The two events of importance to the history of the United States and of vital concern to Spain were the destruction of the French Huguenot colony in Florida and the overthrow of the Armada. The first resulted in the establishment of the Spanish colony at St. Augustine in Florida; and the second, in the final failure of the English colony upon Roanoke Island on the coast of the Carolinas.

Expedition of Columbus

The commissioning of Columbus to find a sea-route westward to India was the happy fortune of a vacillating woman, the good Queen Isabella of Castile, wife of King Ferdinand of Aragon. She spent no money on the project, but allowed Santangelo, the Court banker, a Jew, from his own treasure, to lend the eager adventurer some seventeen thousand florins for the expedition. It was in the name of Castile, and in the three ships of Palos that, as tribute, were surrendered annually for three months to Castile, that Columbus set forth. On the voyage he passed ships of Ferdinand the Catholic, transporting beyond sea some of those two hundred thousand Jews whom "for the good of their realms," as they believed, the Spanish monarchs had expelled, upon the motion of the new Tribunal of the Faith. "Thus," said the Spanish statesman, Emilio Castelar, four centuries later, "was wreaked a stupendous but futile crime in that very hour when the genius of liberty was searching the wide waters for the land that must needs arise to offer an unstained abode for the ideals of progress. Following their narrow views, the powers of

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the Middle Ages denied to the Jews even shelter and sunlight, at the same time that they permitted the discovery of a new land, for the creation of a new order of society that was destined by Providence to put an end to all intolerance, and to dedicate an immense continent to modern democracy."

As that scene was typical of the century to come, with its warfares of religions, its struggles between the dying Middle Ages and the growing Modern Age, so were the very crews of Columbus typical of the history of migration to the new world that lay unseen before him save in the vision of his own faith; for among those hundred and twenty men were Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, Moors, and Jews. Two of the Jews were the first men to see land and to set foot on shore. The cosmopolitanism of these crews was that of accidental association. Most of the men knew nothing of the sea, and voyaged without preparation, under the spell of an idea that offered them opportunity. As for the leader, he said of himself before ever he went to the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella: "Wherever men have gone, there have I journeyed." Of the old world he was weary; but he had the power to search for, and the fortune to find, a new world. Such is the quality of great men, in whose souls despair awakens energy.

The Discovery

It was near midnight upon the thirty-fifth day out from the Azores, the sixty-ninth day of that immortal voyage, when upon the far edge of the western horizon, a little light appeared. Probably the light was the flare of the torch of some West Indian fisherman.

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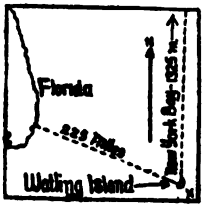
To the Italian sailor that light upon the waters of the pathless ocean meant man, the maker of fire; and man meant land ahead. The next morning, October 12, 1492 (Old Style), Christopher Columbus, in the presence of New World men, landed upon an island that he called San Salvador (Holy Savior), to commemorate at once his own name, the Christ-bearing dove, and the mission upon which he had been sent by the pious Queen.

The sight of that pitch-knot's flickering glare was the first event in the local history of America. A thousand miles of sea stretched north from San Salvador (probably, Watling Island) to the harbor where, four hundred years later, two republics reared a colossal statue in bronze, upon a base of granite, to symbolize an idea of which, in 1492, men dared hardly to dream, the idea of general human liberty. In the right hand of the figure of the Goddess of Liberty is set a great torch, to light from sunset to sunrise the paths of all wayfaring men, even as the little torch in the hand of an unseen figure, lighted the path of the wayfarers from Palos port.



The tale of those four hundred years in America begins in epic and ends in drama. The epic recounts the bloody deeds of war-heroes and enumerates the lands and the treasures that they won; it runs through nearly a hundred years, from 1492 to 1588, Spain's resplendent century, which she tried to make so false to human progress. In the New World, it began with three little ships, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*,

The Spanish Century

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and the *Niña*, floating in the sunlit waters of the American Mediterranean; and in the New World, it ended with a hundred ships of the Armada, defeated and wrecked upon the shores of the storm-swept seas of Great Britain. Only a few of the scenes of the epic lie within the boundaries of our United States, and all of the events lie outside of the line of historic sequence by which Jamestown is linked with Plymouth, Providence, and Philadelphia. This epic belongs to us not as heirs of the traditions of Spain, and only upon our southernmost borders as heirs of her territories, but as men who rejoice in all heroes and in all heroism. We Americans may claim the great deeds of Spanish adventurers for our literature, if not for our history.

The sixteenth century, marked as it was by the ascendency of Spain, in the affairs of Europe and of America, was the first century of the Ocean Period in the history of the world, as well as the first century of the Modern Age in the history of Western Civilization.

Periods of Universal History

Human history may be divided into four great Periods. Of these, the first was the Period of the Ancient Littoral, when man began to be. Concerning the period of man's emergence from the sea we know little, but infer much. Then were laid the deep and apparently indestructible foundations of race. The course of its events has not yet been determined, but we know that its results made the basis of human life in the succeeding River Period. At the end of the River Period, the three fundamental Old World races had appeared,—the black,

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the yellow, and that which, for want of a better name, we call the white. The black peoples were upon the southern edge of what was then "Civilization." The yellow peoples were far to the north and east. The white peoples were nearly all in the river-valleys of the Euphrates, of the Tigris, and of the Nile; but some were upon the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, and some were upon the shores of the Baltic. In complexion they were not white, but olive, in all shades from light to very dark. Somewhere in the north of Europe, from this main race a golden-haired, blue-eyed, pink-and-white-skinned people was mysteriously evolving. Nearly all the peoples of these races, black and yellow as well as white, lived somewhere in river-valleys. The civilizations of China and India date from this remote time. The third, or Inland Sea Period, began with Tyre and Sidon, and proceeded with Carthage, Athens, Rome, Alexandria, Byzantium, Venice, and Genoa, by steps and processes that are fully recorded in history. In that Period, civilization throve upon all the coasts of the Mediterranean, which was then the scene of the world's trade.

Fall of Constantinople

Byzantium, Constantinople, Stamboul, throned between two subject seas, the Black and the Mediterranean, taking tribute of two continents, Europe and Asia! The natural capital of the world, the true cosmopolis, fell in an evil hour into the hands of the fanatic Turks. Out of the dark abysm of Asiatic night, fiercest of all the yellow race, fiercest of all men, fired by the zeal of the prophets of Islam, they stormed the battlements of the eternal city and, with flaming

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torches and dripping swords, swept through its streets. Yet out of monstrous evil often comes marvelous good; it is a mystery of man's historic life. The occupation of Constantinople by the Turks drove Greek learning far into Europe, and Italian seamanship out upon the Atlantic.

By 1453, it had come to pass that the pirates of the Black and the Ionian Seas and the brigands of the mountains and deserts looked upon the caravans and ships along the ancient trade routes to the East as theirs for the taking. The plodding camel and dromedary, which for ages had journeyed with their treasures of silks, jewels, dyes, and spices across the hot sands from the Euphrates and the Indus to the shores of the Mediterranean, began to find rest from their toil. Upon the waters of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea, the strong linen sails of honest mariners were housed in port, and the polished oars of their rowers were stowed below deck; but many a sheet of Greek and Syrian, Scythian and Turkish pirate was seen, and many a rattling oar was heard, along the once peaceful ways of trade. Pillage preyed upon prosperity, which languished as by blood-letting. The merchants of Italy saw their wealth changing into poverty, turned their faces from the East to the North and West, and hoped for deliverance from the body of the Turkish death.

Not that piracy and brigandage began with the "unspeakable Turk" upon the Sea of Marmora. These practices were older than Tyre. But not even the cunning Phœnicians had maintained highway robbery as a national institution.

Six centuries before the Christian era Egyptian

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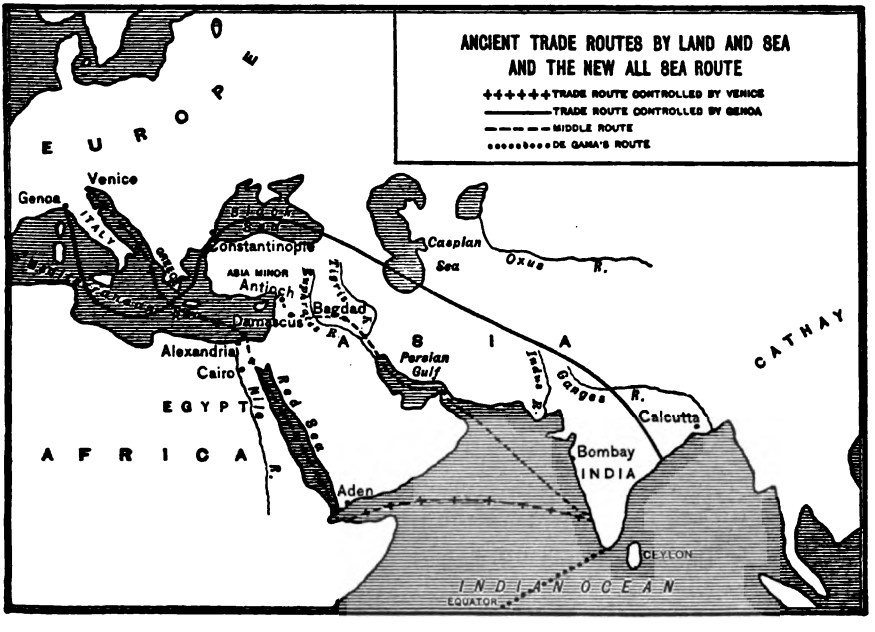
sailors had circumnavigated Africa. A tradition survived in Arabia that there was a sea-route from Greece to India. To find that route became now the hope of Italy. Thus the Turks pressed civilized mankind forward to the day when Columbus set his prow toward the west.

The glory of Italy began, for the second time, with



the new inspiration in art that came with the Greek artists, fleeing from Constantinople after its conquest by the Latins in the thirteenth century. The Turkish conquest drove out the Greek scholars, who followed their forerunners to the land of rival cities beyond the Adriatic. In Italy the old knowledge throve by transplanting. All the great ideas developed a new life. Not the least of these ideas was

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the doctrine that the world is round, which was soon seriously believed by many an Italian scholar. Thus the Turks, by proscribing the Greek tongue, supplied the intellectual leaders who pointed the way of Columbus beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

Early Portuguese Discoveries

In the meantime Portugal, in the extreme southwest of Europe, had long been prying into the secrets of the shrouded deep. Thrust far out into the Atlantic, her people multiplying too fast for her narrow confines and for her generally infertile soil, Portugal was destined by nature to inaugurate the Ocean Period, and to possess the nearest lands across the waters. Her sailors had discovered the Canary Islands in 1344. They had reached Cape Bojador on the African coast in 1412, and had found Madeira in 1416. They gained the Azores in 1449.

In these days there appeared the romantic figure of Prince Henry the Navigator who, from his tower at Segres near Cape St. Vincent, directed voyage after voyage into the South. Until his death in 1460, he was the pride and the hope of his father's kingdom. In 1484, the Portuguese crossed below the equator, and for the first time in history, men of the white race saw the glory of the Southern Cross in the skies. In 1485, Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Storms, the southern point of Africa. In 1492, came the achievement of Columbus, who had lived in Portugal and had married the daughter of a sea-captain of Lisbon. Columbus with his son Diégo left Portugal in the very year of the great success of Diaz, and it is not known whether

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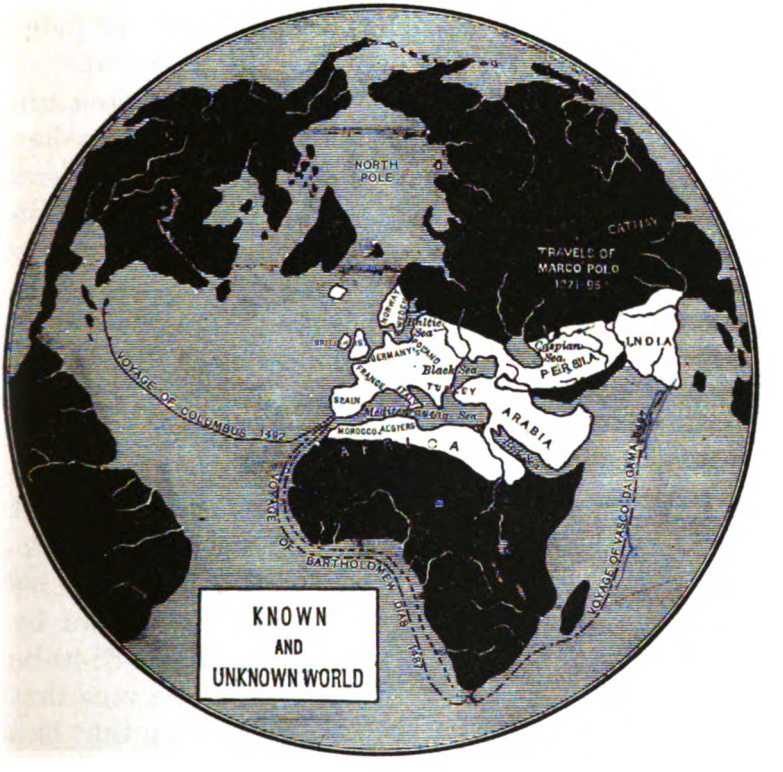
his wife was then alive. There is no further mention of her in history.

In the year 1446 or 1456, or at whatever date



exactly this great master of the sea was born, the people of Italy were no more homogeneous than were the people of England in 1100, when the Briton, the Jute, the Angle, the Saxon, the Dane, and the Norman with the Scot and the Pict in the North, were settling into the character of a nation. **Columbus**

In the city and province of Genoa, the birthplace

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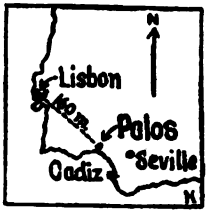
of Columbus, there was no prevailing race, but rather a mixture of three European races: the Alpine, short, broad, and dark; the Teutonic, tall, strong, and light; and the Mediterranean, slender and dark. To judge by the two authentic descriptions of Columbus, or by the various unauthentic portraits, Columbus had strains of all these races. There was in him something of the Mediterranean race,—the imagination and the fiery zeal; there was in him the energy with the forth-stepping enterprise of the Teuton; and his was the courageous pertinacity of the Alpine. He was a man of genius, but his genius was rather of the will than of the intellect. The purpose of his soul glowed like radium with an eternal heat. No one race was likely to produce this great character that went "a-viking" over the sea of darkness as recklessly as any Northman, but with a patent in his hand declaring him no private adventurer, but by commission of Castile and Aragon, the lord-to-be of all lands that he might discover. The race that had produced Cæsar and Seneca; the race that had produced William of Normandy and Stephen Langton; and the race that had produced William Tell and John Huss, all must have had part in the making of this man who was at once a discoverer of a New World and a savior of the Old.



Later Discoveries

The next great achievement that went to the making of the Ocean Period in universal history occurred when, in 1497, John Cabot of Venice, setting out from Bristol, dis-

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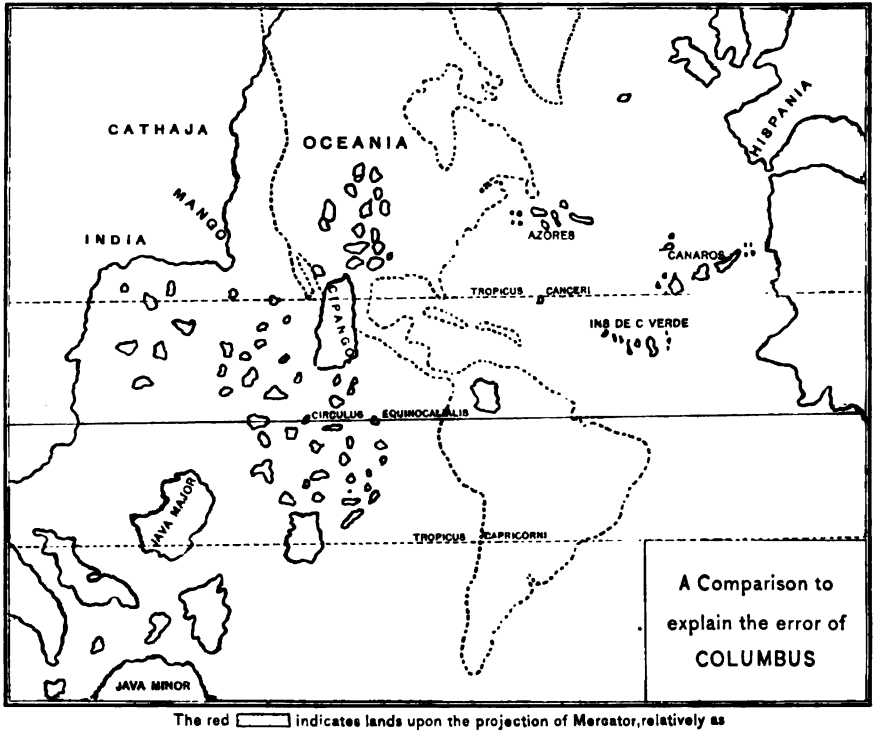

The red [▭] indicates lands upon the projection of Mercator, relatively as located upon the globe of Martin Behaim.

The blue [▭] indicates the lands as they actually were. Toscanelli held substantially the same views, which were incorporated in the Map of Columbus.

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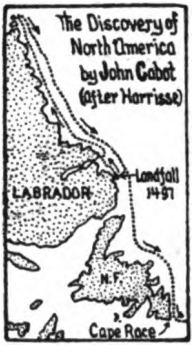
covered North America by sailing due west,—a course entirely without warrant of the chart-makers, then or for some years to come. In his person, England appeared upon the scene with a temporary access of geographical enthusiasm.



In 1498, Vasco da Gama, with Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Christopher, in his crew, reached India and found the sea-route by going south and east. In either 1497 or 1499, Americus Vespucius was pilot in a voyage to South America. Who was the first discoverer of the continent is not really known.

In 1493, Columbus, then in the acme of his fame, made his second voyage. In 1498, he made a third voyage, the first in which he saw any part of South America. From this third voyage he returned in chains. It is only by the qualities of race that we can understand the failure of this great man as a governor. In that mongrel crew with which he made the voyage of discovery, he was easily master; but for a foreigner to control Spaniards was a very different matter. That people enters sufficiently into the later concerns of our history to justify some account of its racial origin.

The Spanish Race

"At the Pyrenees Africa begins," is a saying of the ancients. The Spaniard is of the same blood as the Berber and the Moor of Africa. The cold winters and the dry, hot summers have tried the people of Spain through the generations more severely than climate has

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tried any other people of the Mediterranean race. Before the martyrdoms of the Inquisition began, it was a generous, homogeneous race, with brilliant prospects of future progress. But, as the event proved, it was a race with an unyielding character, with little sympathy or insight, and with no adaptability to changing social conditions. Soldiers and officials of that race Columbus could not successfully manage. No homogeneous people welcomes a foreigner. It cannot understand the "human nature" of an alien, for it has only one point of view. The Portuguese were of the same origin as the Spaniards; but the open gateways of the sea and the fortunes of their ruling House saved them from some of the worst faults of their peninsular kindred.

Later Portuguese Exploits

In 1500, Cortereal of Portugal visited the North Atlantic coast; and in the same year Cabral, by the accident of storm, was driven upon the coast of Brazil. The spirit of Columbus was now abroad. Before the time of his successful voyage, any vessel driven so far from the coast of Europe would have foundered in an effort to return against the storm.

The Crowning Achievement

The most astonishing personal achievement of all the sixteenth century was that of a Portuguese mariner in the service of Spain. Ferdinand Magellan, the Marco Polo of the world's wide waters, was able to prove, what Columbus had failed to prove, that the world is round. Setting out from Spain with five ships, only two remained with him when he passed beyond the straits that now bear his name. Unterrified by desertions and mutinies, he sailed out

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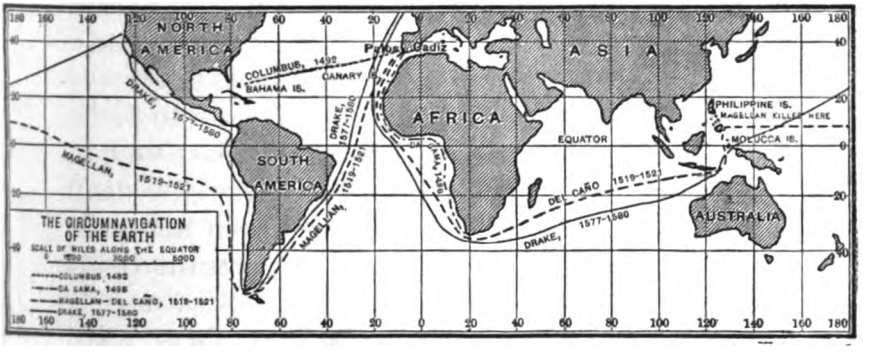
upon the Pacific, so calling it for its calm after the frightful storms of the Atlantic. Latitude he could measure with the astrolabe; but chronometers were yet unknown, and longitude none could measure accurately. He would go round the world! Was it round? And how far around was it? He did not know; his crews knew that he did not know. They could not go back, and they must go forward and up to the Moluccas, which Magellan sailing eastward had reached a dozen years before. Months went



by in heat and calm. They drifted on. They endured starvation and thirst, quarrel and terror, the nameless, indescribable terror of the lost. They found the Philippines, nearly in the longitude of the Moluccas; and there Magellan, the first circumnavigator of the globe, was killed. Del Caño, commanding the *Victoria*, well named for this supreme adventure, completed the voyage eastward. To Marco Polo we, the sons of Europe, owe Asia; to Columbus we owe America; but to Magellan, as stout a soul as ever sailed a ship upon the seas, we owe the knowledge of the round earth.

This, the crowning achievement of all sea-voyages,

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was of geographic importance, enlarging the horizon of human life, and revolutionizing the business and politics of the world. Men at once increased their efforts to find a more direct route from Europe through America to Asia. The "Northeast Passage" became the dream of navigators. It was not until 1852 that McClure completed the knowledge of a route through the Arctic Ocean, and won the prize of £5,000, offered by the British Parliament for the achievement. The easier passage is now being constructed by man at the Isthmus of Darien.

Such in their chronological sequence were some of the most important voyages that resulted in knowledge of the great oceans and of a sea-route to India. In 1502, Columbus made his fourth and last voyage. Four years later he died, two years after the death of Queen Isabella, who had always been his friend and supporter. What were the main results of the epoch in which his deeds were the chief feature?

The New Geography

Several great facts became known, facts which transformed men's conceptions of the world and of life. They had learned that the Asia of which Marco Polo of Venice wrote in his *Travels*, was nearer to them eastward by land than westward by sea; that a continent stretched southward beyond the Mediterranean and Morocco and Egypt, but not interminably as they formerly had feared; that beyond the Atlantic lay a new land, not Asia; and that it stretched from Labrador to the Straits of Magellan, with many islands off its coast in the latitude of the Canaries. The Atlantic was no longer a barrier, but a great highway. Here was to be the outrushing of

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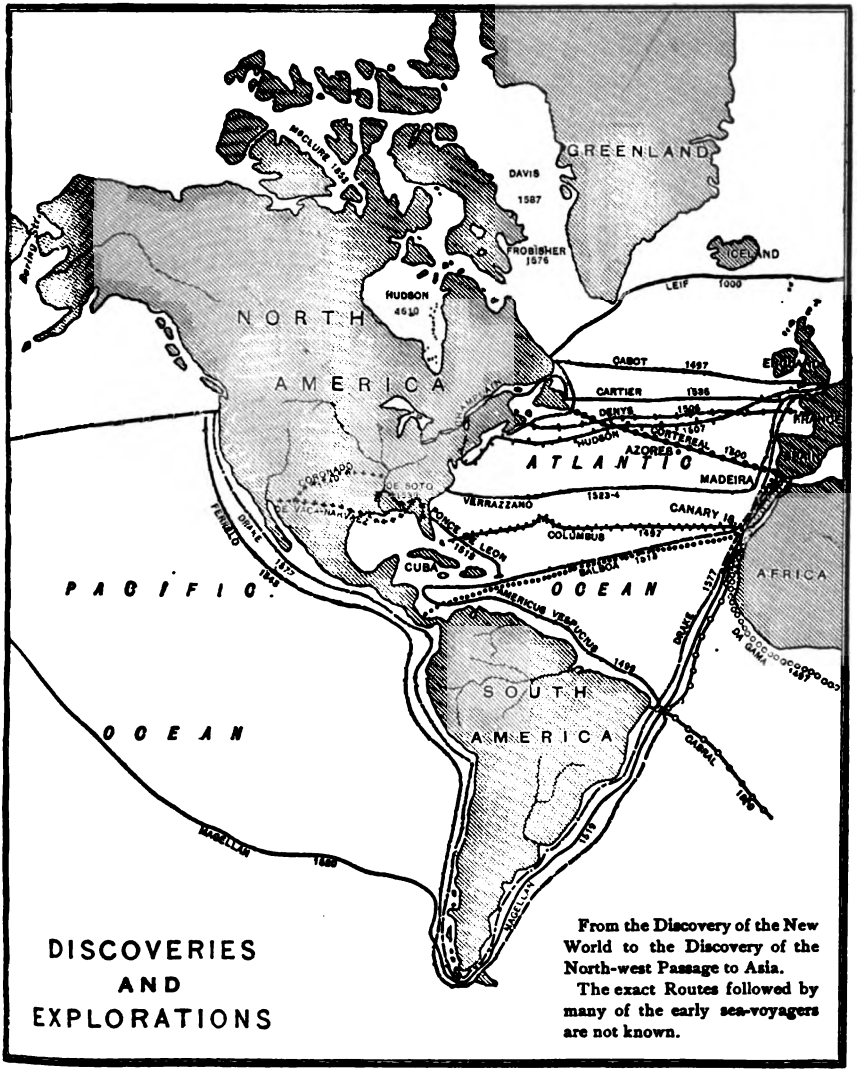

DISCOVERIES
AND
EXPLORATIONS

From the Discovery of the New World to the Discovery of the North-west Passage to Asia.

The exact Routes followed by many of the early sea-voyagers are not known.

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turbulent energies, hitherto repressed by Old World conditions.

Exploration and Conquest

The pages of history now begin to record land explorations that match in heroism, and overmatch in cruelty and torture, the voyages by sea. The Italian Renaissance signified much in American history; it stirred the minds of men to think and to dare. The Turkish conquest of Constantinople signified more; it drove men to the Ocean. But the Moorish wars signified most; the Christian sword of Spain had swung so long in the hands of her soldiers that it could not be laid aside after the fall of Granada. The New World invited the militant soldiery of Spain's arid plateaus and mountains; in the same latitude, five thousand miles away, they were to find greater plateaus and mountains.

In 1513 Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean, which he called the South Sea. In that same year Ponce de Leon explored Florida. Thus were opened the pathways to cruelty and to spoliation. Then followed three bold and terrible expeditions: that of Cortés in 1519, by which Mexico was won for Spain, and the native Aztecs were ruined; that of Pizarro in 1532, by which the Incas of Peru were ruthlessly overwhelmed; and that of De Soto in 1539, which led to the discovery of the Mississippi a year later. There was indeed an element of heroism in all these expeditions; small companies of a few hundred men overcame millions. They went into unknown regions, forested, mountainous, often fatal to health; they tore down idols and temples, putting an end to human sacrifices and to the worship of

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gods of gold and ivory. They destroyed, in Mexico and in Peru, perhaps the most tyrannical governments human ingenuity had ever devised or human ignorance had ever endured.

It is not difficult to account for the success of the Spaniards in Mexico, and in Central and South America, nor for their failure in the Mississippi valley. They had horses, cannon, guns, gunpowder, heavy armor, strong bodies, individual courage, and military training. To all these was added a liking for bloodshed. Their victims were an agricultural people, socialized, without individual training; the natives were cruel, but timid; given to the domestic arts and crafts; believers in fate. To them the white men on horses were avenging gods. The very multitude of the Incas was a source of weakness because of the epidemic sympathy of mob terror.

Not such were the Indians whom De Soto encountered. These were hardier and fiercer men, given to treachery. They and the swamps and the mountains overcame the gayest cavalcade of Spanish knights that America ever saw, equipped to find and to take the mythical treasures of Appalachian cities.

In the Mississippi Valley

These great discoveries and explorations were not isolated facts, the accidental achievements of men who knew nothing of previous exploits. Balboa had been with Columbus in 1500, De Soto and Pizarro were with Balboa in 1513. Cortés was in that cruel band which was sent by Diégo Columbus under

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Velasquez to conquer Cuba; and Cortés had quarreled violently with both Narvaez and Pizarro. They were all men of like nature, associates when not enemies, and the younger were the pupils of the elder. New Spain was a conquest by the swords of comrades at arms.

From these scenes, where horses and men waded in blood, we turn to the surpassing adventures of De Vaca and Coronado. The story of Cabeza de Vaca is almost incredible; but the evidence certainly sustains his own apparently extravagant tales. He was one of the four survivors of an expedition of four hundred men with whom Narvaez started out in 1528 to seize Florida. By this term, "Florida," was meant the region from Nova Scotia to New Mexico. Ruin met them by land and sea until, after two dreadful years, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were left to begin a wonderful farther journey by sea and land, from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Gulf of California. From this long journey over high mountains and arid plains, they found their way back to the civilization of Spanish Mexico in 1536. Cabeza was a man of much intelligence and of much imagination. His marvelous tales of what he saw in the regions that we now call Texas and northern Mexico, and of what he heard of peoples and civilizations beyond, fired the ambition of Spain for new adventures.

In Our Southwest

The fourth party of exploration following the expeditions of De Leon, of Narvaez, and of De Soto was that of Coronado who organized in the fashion of the times a great stock-enterprise, and himself invested sixty thousand gold ducats in the hope to

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find the exhaustless wealth of the "Seven Cities of Cibola." The expedition started from a point upon the western coast of Mexico, discovered the Colorado River, and saw the awful grandeur of the greatest wonder upon the Continent, the canyon of the Colorado. They found the Seven Cities in the pueblos of the Zuñi Indians, shining white in the brilliant sunlight of an arid land, and then pushed forward to the plains of Kansas. Thus the great Southwest was first explored. But a few years later, upon the very route of the expedition, near its starting-point, were discovered the enormously rich silver mines of Zacatecas.

With Coronado and De Soto ended the great adventures of Spanish knighthood in the New World. Half a century later, the Mexican, Onaté, of Zacatecas, found the deserted site of a pueblo at Santa Fé, and there established a settlement in 1598. Meantime there had been enacted upon the coast of Florida the tragedy of the Huguenot colonies from France. This presents to us certain new aspects of world-life in the sixteenth century. By these new aspects, the revolution literally effected by Columbus was emphasized, for by him the Mediterranean was made an inland sea, and all Europe changed front from east to west. The supremacy in Europe, held in all earlier ages by the Mediterranean peoples, was not to pass from the hands of those modern Latins, the Spaniards, without catalcysmic struggles, of which the destruction of Port Royal was the prelude.

Santa Fé

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CHAPTER II

THE SUPREMACY OF THE SPANIARD

1492–1588

THE friars, whom the Spanish Conquistadors brought with them in their military expeditions for the possession of the New World, were few but earnest. Not religion but robbery was the characteristic of Spain's valiant adventurers. The Spaniards, from the days of Columbus to those of Menendez, wore their religion as a sword. In their hands it grew keener with every conquest. The tale of the West Indies, of the coast lands of the continents, and of the islands of that American Mediterranean which is made by the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, is a tale of slavery, rapine, and death, in which the war-cry "For Spain and the Church" inspired alike the grandee and the priest.

Religion

The modern man, with his ideas of pity and brotherly kindness, finds the tale difficult to understand. We know that, when the Italian Columbus dreamed of lands beyond the Atlantic, he hoped that they would prove to be Cathay and India. We know that he desired to acquire there great estates and gold and treasures. We know that he talked

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of spending his wealth in a new crusade for the possession of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem; and that after the discovery of transatlantic lands, he thought of bringing the ignorant West Indians into the fold of the Church. It is hard for us to realize that nothing of all this meant the just dealings of the Golden Rule. Much less did it mean love among men, for which Christianity now stands, and the liberty of equal rights, which is Americanism. We read the story of Diégo Columbus in San Domingo and Cuba rapidly, that we may avoid picturing too vividly its horrors. New Spain, from Porto Rico to Peru, was wet with the tears and blood of the oppressed.

Las Casas

There was one, Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spanish priest of French extraction, who saw with indignant grief the sorrows of the natives; and who interceded with Ferdinand of Spain and with Charles of the Empire in their behalf. To lighten their labors, for a time he advocated the general introduction of Negro slaves into the New World, a proposition that clearly shows his ignorance of the fundamental principles of fair dealing between man and man. Later he withdrew this plan. In his pious work he was supported by the Dominican monks, the great Order that maintained the Inquisition. This kindness in America and cruelty in Europe may seem contradictory to us of the modern age, but it was entirely logical. The Dominicans grieved sorely to see millions of the essentially lovable West Indians, their especial charges, lost eternally because the swift butchery of their masters swept them out of life before the offer of

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salvation could be presented and received; for the Spanish outrages so embittered the few survivors that they could not lend willing ears to the priests' stories of Christ and the Church. No nation ever came to control so fine a subject race, and no nation ever used any subject race so wickedly.

Conquest, not Colonization

Fortunately for North America, the Spaniards were more drawn toward the finding of the mineral wealth of Mexico, Peru, and Central America than they were to the pushing of their colonies in Florida and in the valleys of the Mississippi and of the St. Lawrence. Panama they founded as early as 1514. They spent their treasures upon riotous living and upon wars in Europe, rather than upon exploration and colonization farther north. In no true sense was Spain a colonizing nation. Her knights and her common soldiers left their wives and children at home. A special feature of De Soto's brilliant expedition was that his wife cheered his departure from Havana harbor. It is true that the Spaniards imported the domestic animals: Columbus, upon his second voyage, brought calves, goats, sheep, pigs, and fowls. But the true colony is a community of people who have left their native land to establish themselves permanently in another. Colonists are settlers, not sojourners. The plan of every Spaniard, whether "hidalgo" or not, was to win wealth in the New World that he might spend it in the Old. And the Spaniard had no thought of earning wealth. One and all proposed to steal accumulated treasures, or to exploit the natives as slaves upon plantations or in the mines. Among all the governors

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we hear of but one great man, Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain, who seriously undertook to secure kindly treatment for the natives. By his time, self-interest as well as humanitarianism dictated a change, for the aborigines were becoming few in numbers and weaker in health than before the ominous "yellow and black" of Spain presaged death to the natives from the Europeans' love of gold. The total of the vast treasures actually taken from America to Europe in Spanish galleons, no one knows or can ever know; but the spoils of the mines, temples, and plantations included gold, silver, copper, hides, sugar,—then almost priceless,—jewels, mahogany, and slaves. The total value of these revenues of Spanish kings and grandees may be estimated at sixty billions of dollars for the years from the discovery to the Armada, a total equal to the entire wealth of the United States in 1880.

Yet though the Spanish purpose was never colonization, and though as late as 1560 there were not twenty thousand Spaniards in all the New World, Spain possessed the lands from St. Augustine to Valparaiso; and the blood of the ruling classes in Mexico and throughout Central and South America except in Brazil, though seldom pure, is to this day substantially Spanish. From the beginning, there were some honest marriages with the native women, and there were many half-breeds born out of wedlock. In this respect the record of New Spain is like that of New France.

Brazil

It scarcely concerns the great story of the people of the United States, that Brazil, and Brazil alone of all New World regions

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became Portuguese. Yet it serves to complete the background of the vast picture of American history, to explain the presence of the Portuguese in Brazil.

In 1492, there were two great Catholic powers in the west of Europe. Of these Spain was the greatest upon the land; and Portugal, upon the sea. That accident of storm which drove Pedro Alvarez Cabral, with his magnificent fleet of eighteen ships bound for the Indies, far westward until he saw the coasts of Brazil, was fraught with great results. When he returned from the Far East in 1502, Portugal was ready for the active occupation of Brazil; for Cabral had sent a small vessel back to notify King John of the discovery, and Vespucius as pilot had already made one and possibly two voyages to the region. The military occupation of the land was based upon the partition of the whole world, by Pope Alexander VI., between Spain and Portugal in 1493 and 1494, when no man dreamed there was a South America to be partitioned. East of a line three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Portuguese Azores all lands recently discovered or yet to be discovered were apportioned to Portugal; west of this line all heathen lands were to belong to Spain. This was the second and final partitioning, which sent Magellan westward to win the Moluccas for Spain. He thought that they were nearer by the west than by the east.

In 1531, Portugal began an effective agricultural settlement of Brazil, two generations before any such settlement was attempted by another nation. At that time her revenues from India matched those of Spain from America. They were the result

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largely of the conquests of Albuquerque, the greatest explorer of his day. But in that narrow land of Portugal the contrasts of wealth and poverty, of power and oppression, were too great to be endured; and thousands of families emigrated to Brazil. Portugal was so small a land that she could not endure this loss; and in 1580 by inheritance and by a short, sharp, cruel campaign of the terrible Alva, who took effective possession, she fell helplessly under the dominion of the great Philip of Spain. Then followed the "Sixty Years' Servitude" during which Portugal disappeared from the family of nations.

From the voyage of Cortereal to the coast of Newfoundland, which he called Labrador, nothing resulted of political importance. The name was later moved to the north. Portuguese and French fishermen immediately took possession of the Grand Banks, and from that day to this have occupied these fishing-grounds as well as many a harbor upon the North Atlantic coast. At Provincetown on Cape Cod, and Gloucester on Cape Ann, in New England, are so many thousands of people of Portuguese descent that they outnumber the seagoing people of English stock.

The Name "America"

The name "America" was first given to the southern region, visited in the Portuguese expeditions, by Waldseemüller of the little College of St. Dié in the Vosges Mountains, France. This scholarly man was a friend of the learned Italian geographer, Americus Vespucius, whom Portugal had employed as a pilot. In naming the new land "America" Waldseemüller had no thought of depriving Columbus of his just dues.

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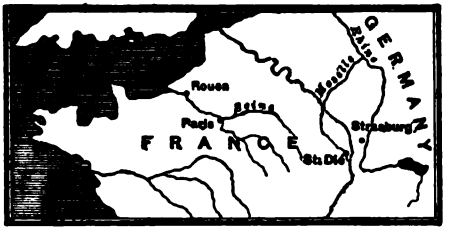
To the region that we know as South America, in what he called *quarta orbis pars*, he gave the name "America," in honor of his friend, the industrious map-maker. To Columbus was given the honor of the name of the islands. Not until it was known that there is continuous land from Labrador to Terra del Fuego, was the name "America" applied to the entire New World; and at that time all the persons concerned in the discoveries had been dead for a generation.



It was better so. Columbus felt to the day of his death the reproach of having discovered, not a route to Cathay and the Indies with their treasure of gold, silks, spices, and dye-woods, but instead a New World, apparently far less rich and splendid than Asia. He did know before his death that he had found a great new continent. The mighty tide of

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fresh water at the mouth of the Orinoco, which he first saw in 1498, convinced him that south from

Hispaniola, his headquarters, lay a great land-barrier that blocked his hopes of reaching Cathay and Cipango directly. Columbus died neither poor nor disgraced, but disappointed. He had found across the Atlantic, not wealth for a new crusade, but broken health, political disasters, inhuman cruelties, to all of which his own mistakes contributed. A pivotal man in the history of the world, he opened a way of escape to the oppressed of Europe. Columbus stands in history almost as unknown personally as Shakspere in literature. His claim to the naming of the New World is unquestionably better than that of Vespucius; but he himself did not wish the honor, for it magnified his error. Next to his claim is that of Vespucius, the intelligent and energetic map-making pilot, who voyaged three and perhaps four times across the Atlantic, and whose accounts of the "mondo nuovo" the famous traveler Humboldt pronounced the most

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graceful and keenly appreciative in early American history. On one of these voyages he went four thousand miles, from the St. John's River all along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to beyond the mouth of the Amazon, clearly the greatest coasting voyage in early New World history. He was the first voyager in the history of the world to do great-circle sailing. Upon the surface of a sphere, the arc of a great circle (cut by a plane through the center of the sphere) is the shortest distance between any two points. To Vespucius, *sagacis ingenii vir*, as Waldseemüller called him, the naming of America gave a just pleasure. We too may rejoice in it, regretting nothing, but rather congratulating ourselves that the name America keeps alive the memory of a scholarly name unstained by fanaticism or cruelty.

The Heroic Age

We may in fairness neither condemn nor belittle any of these adventurers. In an age remote from ours in manners, morals, and ideas they acquitted themselves like men. We are not likely too greatly to magnify them. In little boats, often so low in the water that the voyagers might dip their hands in the salt waves, they crossed the seas; Cabot in the *Matthew* and Del Cano in the *Victoria*, each had crews of eighteen men. In courage, daring, fortitude, and endurance no living creatures on sea or land ever surpassed them. Nobles, grandees, knights, priests, monks, scholars, gentlemen, merchants, soldiers, mariners, servingmen, cutthroats, jailbirds, pirates, criminals, whether Catholic, Protestant, Moslem, Jew, or Infidel; whether Italian, Spaniard, Portuguese, or Moor; whether old or young, high-born or low-born;

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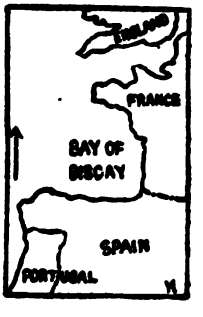
all, whoever and whatever they were, with unflinching courage faced storm and hurricane, heat and cold, conflict, labor, and starvation, mutiny, tyranny, torture, disease, solitude, and death. It was the last grand spectacle of the Mediterranean peoples, an apotheosis, as it were, of the oldest of the three great European races.

From all these unhappy matters, these heart-breaking early voyages to America, to India, around the world, these atrocities of barbarous though valiant knights, these slave-worked mines, these explorations of hot desert lands and gloomy forests, we turn to the first great conflict between European nations upon the soil of the New World and upon the high seas between four great continents.

The year 1565 marks an epoch in the history of mankind. In that year ancient Spain collided in Florida with modern France, and, in conquering, won France to Catholicism. In 1588 she was to collide with a modern England, and to lose. The causes for the tragedy at Port Royal are far to seek. Yet in substance and in spirit they are close to the causes that led the Pilgrims to essay the struggle for existence upon the bleak and barren hillsides of Plymouth Bay.



Speaking in the terms of universal history, the causes lay in a real religion that spoke to each several man, and made him a man. To quote the perfect language of one of the greatest of modern historical scholars, Lord Acton, of Oxford, whose research and reflection left him

State and Church

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time to make only two little books, but those immortal:—"Beginning with the strongest religious movement and the most refined despotism ever known, the historic cycle led to the superiority of politics over divinity in the life of nations, and terminates in the equal claim of every man to be unhindered by man in the fulfillment of duty to God, —a doctrine laden with storm and havoc, which is the secret essence of Rights of Man and the indestructible soul of revolution."

The year 1560 is the center of this historic cycle, in which Western Europeans awoke to the fact that each man is the son of the Father and therefore his own guide in religion. A century must pass before Western Europeans discover that the "therefore" is extended and logically includes government as well as religion. 1560 marks the time when Protestantism became strong in France.

It is sometimes said that an event, to belong to the history of a nation, must occur upon its own soil, among its own people, and be in causal sequence with other events. These are indeed the correct limitations of national history narrowly defined. But insistence upon such limitations leaves without explanation such an event as the destruction of the Huguenot colony in Florida. Yet that was the most important event that occurred upon the soil of the present United States before the coming of the Jamestown colony. To understand this is to understand many other facts of our own history and that of Europe.

The mighty tide of wealth that poured into Spain from the Americas, and the equal tide that poured

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from the Orient into Portugal, Spain's dependent state, enriched chiefly the military class, converting many adventurers into grandees. A part of the wealth fell to the Church. Very little came into the possession of the commercial class, and none into that of the industrial or agricultural class. The long wars with the Moors had left the industrial, commercial, and professional classes very weak. Learning, in 1492, was by no means as widespread and active in Spain as in Italy, in France, or even in England. The enrichment and augmentation of the nobility in a land already fanatically Catholic had the inevitable effect of still further strengthening the classes that by reason of their employments are governed rather by tradition than by reason. To be a Spaniard was to be a Catholic, and not to be a Catholic was to be no Spaniard at heart. Free thinking in religion was treason, and it was punished as such by the Spanish Inquisition, acting under the authority of the Crown.

The Ruling Classes

Our concern in this matter is not with events in Spain,—the expulsion of the great artisan and commercial classes of the Moriscoes, (the Christianized Moors), the martyrdoms and exilings of Protestants, the silencing of the finest voices in the nation, and the crushing of the very mind of Spain,—but with the effects of these events upon our own history, especially in contrast with the effects of the events in nations that were farther north.

The Inquisition

It has often been said that martyrdoms multiply the adherents of a cause. This is true only in the

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ase of peoples that have been readily responsive to the truths of the cause, and where the persecutors have not been utterly relentless. The people of Spain heard the echoes of the thunder of the German Reformation, but they were not responsive. The persecutors of the Spanish Protestants were utterly relentless. The result was that Spain was made a unit for Roman Catholicism.

Distracted France

The thunder of the great Reformation was heard in France. There the minds of the people had been prepared for the new thought by the Italian Renaissance, and by the movements of the New Learning in the world of culture, which were very active forces in French life. The great central monarchy was absorbing the energies of the French people. To the north, lay the individual freedom of the Protestant Teutonic peoples, a freedom very imperfectly realized then, not wholly realized even yet. South, lay intellectual servitude under the religious tyranny of the Catholic Latin countries. Not even the monarchy was clear as to its religious faith. It is one of the incomprehensible facts of history that the Court of France shortly before the terrible Protestant massacre was inclined to a Catholic massacre instead. The Huguenot (Protestant) massacre took place seven years after the fall of Port Royal, but it was the logical outcome of all that series of events of which Port Royal was a part. To understand why France prevailed in the New World for so long a time, and yet did not finally prevail, and to understand why France in the New World lost its first contest with Spain and therefore its last with England, it is necessary to see

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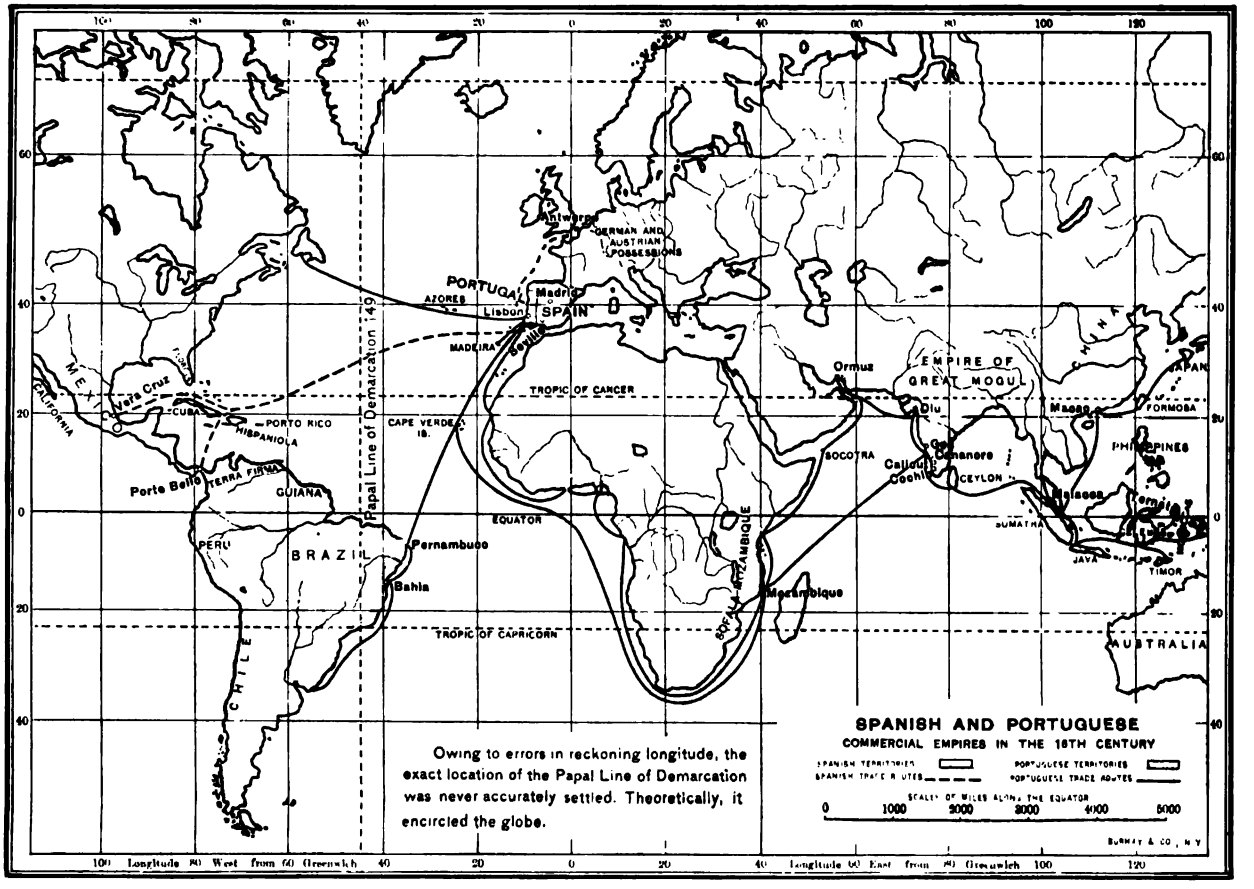

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clearly what France really was in the sixteenth century, and why she became in her distraction in part Protestant, in part Catholic, and in part unbelieving.

While Spain was seizing a great empire and creating New Spain; and soon after England had sent Cabot, and Portugal, Cortereal, to the coasts of North America, France was not altogether idle. Denys, a native Frenchman of Honfleur, had visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence for France in 1506; and Verrazano, an Italian of Florence, by occupation a corsair, commissioned by Charles V. of France to make a voyage "to Cathay," had discovered the Hudson river in 1523; Cartier had explored the St. Lawrence river in two voyages in 1534 and 1535, and here and there others of less note in history had assisted in building up those claims to New World lands that were later to prove so helpful to the schemes of the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV. But these early voyages had little to do with political affairs in France except to afford excuses for ignoring the Papal Line of Demarcation, which gave no "heathen lands" to any nations save Spain and Portugal. Let it not be supposed that any favoritism of the Italian Papacy for France led the French monarch and most of the people finally to become Catholic. The fidelity of the Court to Rome was very badly shaken by many other events besides the Bull of 1493 and its later modifications. King Francis I. had asked, "In what article of Father Adam's will was the heathen world given to Spain and Portugal?" but France really cared very little about the "heathen world." All the forces, political, dynastic, economic, and religious, that were at work

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in France in the middle of the sixteenth century, need not be discussed here. But among the forces may be mentioned these: The dread of the Spanish dynasty, which threatened to absorb Europe into a new Empire equal in size to that of Charlemagne and vastly greater in numbers, wealth, and power; the ambitions of the Medici, that princely House of bankers whose founders were drug-dealers and jewelers; the ambitions of Francis I. and his House; the rise of Protestantism under Calvin who, though forced to live in Switzerland, was nevertheless a great power in France; the intrigues of the women of the French Court; conflicting institutions from the Roman law and from the common law; a heterogeneous population, composed of the three great European races; and the personal energy of the great Coligny, the leader of the Huguenots. It was at the very height of the crisis of these times that the plan of a Huguenot colony was made and launched.

The Feud

Political, economic, and religious motives led to this great undertaking. By it was presented the spectacle of two nations, apparently at peace with each other,—one, France, clandestinely, and the other, Spain, openly and threateningly,—sending two great expeditions, the one to seize and the other to defend, a piece of territory. We may not follow in detail the course of events by which the great feud between Spain and France developed upon the high seas and upon all of the coasts of the Atlantic. French corsairs, rivaling in their courage and cruelty the Turkish and Moorish pirates of the Mediterranean, swept down upon many a

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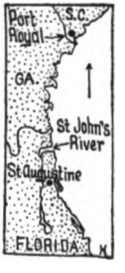
Spanish galleon, homeward bound with great treasures. In fleets they seized and sacked the seacoast cities of New Spain, in many instances, sparing neither man, woman, nor child.

Port Royal

In 1561, the French Huguenots, inspired by patriotism and acting in the interests of Protestantism, challenged the claims of Spain to Florida by planting a colony at Port Royal. Of the varying fortunes of this colony, including the friendly visit from Hawkins, the great English freebooter and first English slaver, no details need be given. It suffices to record the final destruction of the "French Lutherans," as they were erroneously called, that fell in 1565 by the will of Philip of Spain and by the hand of the crusading zealot, Menendez. At Fort Caroline, near the St. John's river, the last of the Huguenot colonists in Florida, and the fleet of Ribault despatched to their rescue, were the victims. It was Menendez who, in their own cruel style, repaid the French for the depredations of their freebooters and slavers. Few Huguenots were spared; of whom some met a fate worse than the sword, starvation. In the same year, 1565, St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, was founded to hold Florida for Spain.



The Anger of Philip

We need not trace in detail the various events of the succeeding years until we reach the climacteric event of the century, the overthrow of the Armada. The causes that led to the sending of the great fleet by Philip against England were these: By a marriage with

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Elizabeth of England, Philip had cherished hopes to add one more throne to his own greatness; but Elizabeth persistently refused to accept him as a husband. Philip had seen more than half of the millions of New Spain's native Indian stock destroyed by the worst slavery ever known to man, and the consequent steady decline of his revenues from the New World. He had watched the steady development of Protestantism from the day when, in 1521, it had been little more than the protest of Luther, put upon the defence before the Emperor Charles at the Diet of Worms until it became the dominant belief of Germany, the faith of Switzerland, a great influence in France, a spirit that would not down in Spain, a source of rebellion in the Netherlands, and the national policy of England. To Philip's personal chagrin over Queen Elizabeth's refusal of marriage, to his irritation over the declining revenues, to his sense of bafflement in matters of religion, was added fierce anger at the depredations of English freebooters, who rejoiced exceedingly in the pillage known as "singeing the beard of the King of Spain." The results of the Armada belong to the tale of the rise of England.

The Climax

Ferdinand the Catholic, his grandson Charles, and his great-grandson Philip, these three, reigning in Spain from 1474 to 1598, saw the rise and fall of her power. Had not Charles and Philip reigned over other countries also, and could they have bent all their energy to the development of Spanish colonies in America, the history of the two worlds, the Old and the New, would have been very different. The reign of the last of these

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monarchs saw the climax of Spanish power, which was never greater than in the year when Menendez checked the progress of France by his ruthless victory upon the coast of Florida.

What a tremendous capacity for work both Charles and Philip had! Yet how greatly did their very industry contribute to the undoing of their Empire! Throughout all his territories, Philip, "the prisoner of the Escorial," decided every least question, though after 1559 he never stepped foot out of Spain to inquire personally into public needs. So vast was the imperial business and so slow the mode of communication, that when he died his work was eight years behind. Over great areas, such tyranny could not possibly succeed in an age when many individuals, many classes of men, many whole provinces, were beginning to think for themselves.

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CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF ENGLAND AS A SEA-POWER IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

1560–1603

Progress

WITH a pleasure that is not entirely due to pride in the greatness of the mother-country, from the story of Spain we turn to the story of England. English we undoubtedly are, —fundamentally and essentially English; but the satisfaction that we feel in deeds of English heroism is due not wholly to race and to tradition, but in part to the large measure of ethical and moral approval that we are able to give to the motives and methods of the Englishmen of three hundred years ago. England never made greater or more rapid progress than in the last decades of the seventeenth century.

We owe America to Christopher Columbus of Italy; and we owe Christopher Columbus to a long chain and to a wide reach of causes. We are indebted for him to the races from whence he sprung, and to the sea-going people among whom he was born and was brought to manhood; to Ptolemy of Egypt and to Aristotle of Greece, who taught that

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the earth is round; to Toscanelli of Italy, who made a map to set forth that truth, and to Martin Behaim of Germany, who made a globe for the same purpose; to the rulers and to the sea-captains of Portugal, who put him in training; to the monks and scholars, the bankers and the monarchs of Spain, who together, in the face of obstacles, sent him forth upon his immortal journey. But for our land and our people, we are indebted to the brilliant leadership of Walter Raleigh, a foremost man in the development of the sea-power of England.

John Cabot

There is evidence that John Cabot, like Columbus a native of Genoa, but later a citizen of Venice, betook himself, with his wife and his three sons, to Bristol, England, as early as 1493 or 1494, hoping to secure the means for a voyage to find a sea-route to India. Of his early experiences there we know very little: what we do know of importance is that, boldly sailing due west, John Cabot in 1497 set the standards of St. George of England and of St. Mark of Venice, upon the soil of North America, and returned to Bristol, to be known ever after as "the Great Admiral." By a second voyage, in apparent violation of the Papal grants of all heathendom to Spain and Portugal, Cabot confirmed and extended the claim of England to the region. "August 10, 1497, 10l. to hym that found the new isle," wrote in his diary that Henry the miser, who left so many millions in his treasury. By that heritage, Henry VIII. was enabled to live splendidly, to the astonishment of the dynasties of Europe and to the upbuilding of the prestige of England.

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After his two well-authenticated voyages in 1497 and 1498, we hear little of John Cabot, but much of his son Sebastian, who for a long time served the Emperor Charles V. as "pilot major and examiner of pilots" in Spain, and who made several voyages in her interest. In 1548 he returned to England to receive a handsome pension of £166 a year. In 1550 there was a lively dispute between Charles and the Ministers of the pathetic boy-king, Edward VI., as to which nation had the right to the services of Sebastian Cabot. Sebastian remained in England and helped to organize the expedition of the ill-fated Willoughby, who sought to reach India by a northeast route. The commander perished in 1554, but one of his captains, Richard Chancellor, reached Muscovy by way of Archangel and the White Sea, and traveled south as far as Moscow. Not long afterward, the venerable figure of Sebastian disappeared from the active scene. Not the least of the many interesting speculations regarding the Cabots, of whom so little is definitely known, is whether or not they belonged in the paternal line to the Cabots of the island of Jersey. If so, England's claim to North America was based on the achievements of men of Norman-English blood.

Sebastian Cabot

The first Englishmen of whom we hear great things upon the high seas, the gift of Columbus to the free use of men, were William Hawkins, who began the slave-trade before 1530, and his son, John Hawkins, name of dread in his time to all Spaniards. The Council of the Indies had decreed that ships might ply for trade

Upon the Atlantic

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between Spain and New Spain, with but two days in the year on which to sail, and from but two ports. Moreover, the New World tribute was to come to them in a single fleet once in the year. These plans they tried for a time; with what measure of anxiety for the safe passage of the treasure-fleet across the Ocean, it is needless to record. Even the obstinate, home-keeping grandees of the Spanish Council finally saw the folly of such courses. Meantime, the English were developing that power upon the sea which was at once their heritage by sea-roving Northmen's blood and the destiny of their island home. For the land found and claimed for them by the Cabots, they cared nothing. For the bullion silver of New Spain and for the hope of a route by which easily to reach the spices of the Indies, they cared much.

Del Caño's *Victoria* of but eighty-five tons brought home spices more than enough to repay all the costs of Magellan's great expedition. All the world heard of the rich outcome of that venture. We may not dwell long upon the discovery by Cabot and Cortereal that fish were abundant off the coast of North America; in the Catholic age, with its many holy days, fish must be had. The fishermen of Portugal, France, and England were making for the "Land of Cod," as they called the New World at the very time when the Pinzons and Vespucius were charting the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed, a myth arose that the Biscay fishermen had visited the cod-banks off Newfoundland before ever Columbus saw the Bahamas. And it may be true. Who would believe

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fishermen's tales in an age when lords and monarchs, merchants and scholars in their fancy peopled the great deep with monsters, and pictured even its glorious sunsets as the flaming gateway of the subterranean hell? But fancy gave way to fact, and at every English harbor, gold, spices, cod, beckoned seaward.

The annals of the younger Hawkins, from 1562, are a part of English history. In that year, he visited the Guinea coast in Africa, took, partly by the sword, partly by craft, some three hundred Negroes, and sold them as slaves in Hispaniola. He used the proceeds to buy sugar, hides, and pearls. Then, with an innocence hard to understand, he sent two ships loaded with hides for sale in Spain, where they were promptly confiscated! Yet the immense profits realized from the sales of other shiploads in England enabled him to buy for another voyage four ships: the *Jesus*, a seven-hundred ton ship, than which were none bigger on the high seas, and three smaller vessels. From this second voyage he made yet greater profits.

Hawkins

Hawkins was the first Englishman to visit the coast of Florida, where he rescued the Huguenot colony from starvation and learned, what France and Spain had long known, the uses and effects of tobacco. Of Florida and its native inhabitants, of its climate and of its products, he wrote a full and enthusiastic account. To him England owed the first important knowledge of this land of ours; nor did he forget to write in glowing terms of America's greatest vegetable product, maize, or Indian corn.

In ethics Hawkins was not greatly superior to

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Cortés, Pizarro, Diego Columbus, Velasquez, and Menendez. His ship's orders, "Serve God daily," meant worship, not the morality of the New Testament. In fact, he took peculiar pride in his success in Negro-catching: a captive Moor was the crest of his coat of arms, an honor won by the success of this second expedition. A few years later, to the shield of the coat of arms was added a pilgrim's scallop-shell between two palmer's staves, to show that the African slave-trade was a pilgrimage in honor of the Lord Jesus! To this idea no doubt the name of his own flagship contributed.

In 1567, Hawkins made a third expedition, with Francis Drake as one of his captains. They took from Africa five hundred Negroes for sale in the West Indies, where they found official Spanish orders against the trade, and plenty of eager lawbreakers ready to buy their captives.

The Slave-Trade

It has sometimes been said that this Spanish order was due only to the fact that Spain herself was debarred by the Bull of Alexander VI. from taking slaves out of Africa, since that was Portuguese territory. It is true that Portugal's "Sixty Years' Servitude" had already begun; but it does not appear that the sovereignty of Spain over Portugal was such that the Spanish people could enter Portuguese territory in defiance of the Papal Bull, which constituted a treaty between the two countries. On the contrary, the historic fact was that Portugal had become a dominion of the Crown of Spain rather than of Spain as a nation; and the event proves this to have been the case, for by the death of Philip III. in

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1616, without war Portugal again became free. The Spanish order against Negro slavery was partly due to genuine humanity, for by this time many Spaniards saw the evils of the institution; but in the main, it was a political measure designed to injure England and Portugal. Spain herself, never strong upon the sea, was in no position to seize the slave-trade and to prosecute it successfully. In consequence of the violation of this Spanish anti-slave-trade order, there occurred a memorable sea-fight in the harbor of San Juan de Ulúa, where, after promising a truce, twelve Spanish vessels attacked the five ships of the English so furiously that but two escaped to sea. A hundred Englishmen, survivors of the fight, but crowded out of the ships for want of room, fell into the merciless hands of the Inquisition. Then and there England learned the meaning of the State maxim of Spain, "Keep no faith with heretics."

Ingram

Three of the hundred who were put ashore claimed later that they escaped the Spaniards by walking two thousand miles along Indian trails, from the Gulf coast to New Brunswick, where, at the mouth of the St. John's river, they were rescued by a French vessel. Whether this tale be true, no man surely knows; if true, it was an exploit worthy of Cabeza de Vaca. Unfortunately the leader, Davy Ingram, adopted a style of narration worthy of the imagination of De Vaca. If that long journey really was accomplished, what an opportunity for everlasting fame sailor Ingram, the chief narrator, lost by not reciting his adventures with historical verisimilitude! Be it remembered

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that few have believed the marvelous tales of Marco Polo; yet that he really made the vast tour recorded by him is now considered certain. The Münchausen quality in a real traveler can but hurt his influence as a story-teller in the modern age.

Hawkins, with Drake as a subordinate, made yet other voyages, these solely to pillage the Spaniards. In one of them, Drake was the first of Englishmen to see the Pacific Ocean, from the spot on which Balboa stood in 1513. He now comes forward as the new great man of the sea-going English race. In 1577, Drake set out with a splendidly appointed expedition, to reach the South Sea by Magellan's course. After the passage of the Straits, he had but one of his five ships left; there Magellan had two remaining. At Valparaiso, the English took great plunder from a far larger ship than their own. Elsewhere, again and again they repeated the exploit. From a single Spanish vessel they seized three million dollars in silver. Pushing far north, for they dared not turn south, they uncovered the coast of Oregon, and then sailed northwest into the fogs of the coast of Alaska. Drake spent no little time off that coast, trying to find a passage east to the Atlantic. Of his reception by the natives, so graphically recorded by the chaplain, Fletcher, it is agreeable to speak; for no murder, and but little wrong, was done on either side. The "Americans" looked upon the visitors as gods and desired them to dwell there among them. In the name of the Queen, Drake took possession of the land, calling it New Albion. Then he stood his ship, the *Pelican*, a hundred tons only, out into the west

Drake

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and sailed through fifteen thousand miles of sea, to reach home fabulously rich and a hero. There he received a royal welcome.

Five years later, in 1585, Drake—hero, knight, millionaire, and recently member of Parliament—swept down, with sailors and soldiers, upon the Spanish Main. Then there fell upon the seacoast towns and cities of New Spain a besom of cruelty and ruin so terrible as to amount to the vengeance of One who said, "I will repay"; for the sorrow of the native Indians was repaid by the affliction of the children's children of the Spanish Conquistadors. The private war of England with Spain was past; public war had come.

From the scenes and results of these dread exploits of battle, showing to what spirit England had risen, we turn to the North Atlantic and to the search for the "Northwest Passage." North of Scotland, lie the Hebrides, the Orkney, the Shetland, and the Faroe Islands, and Iceland, which is five hundred miles away to the northward. From the Skager Rack to Labrador is two thousand miles, at no point of which need the sailor be over three hundred miles from land. The modern iceberg-limit is four hundred miles west from Norway, touches Iceland on the south, and sweeps nearly to Greenland. Thence it strikes due south to the latitude of the Azores. It is one of the most interesting facts of history that a race of men could be developed, hardy enough of body and bold enough in spirit, deliberately to choose the line of the limit of the icebergs as the path of their sea-adventures. From the fiords of Scandinavia they

The Northmen

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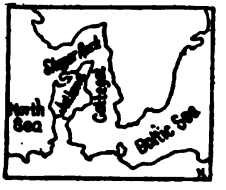
spread to the islands of the Arctic Sea, and made settlements upon the northern coasts of Scotland and of Ireland, where their descendants, blue-eyed, tawny-haired, large of limb, may be seen to this day. World over, the sea-rovers are the freest of all men; these were the mightiest of all sea-rovers.



Those who study the origins of races venture the hypothesis that, thousands of years ago in the river-valleys of central Europe, of the Po, the Danube, and the Theiss, a people began to differentiate from the Mediterranean race, and that this people became the Finns. Some of the Finnic people evidently followed the retreating ice-cap northward, making their homes south and east of the Baltic. As Europe grew warmer, the more adventurous pushed across that Sea into Sweden. There they continued to increase in numbers and to improve in physical strength. Thence they spread along both the northern and the southern coasts and out into the Atlantic. By 600 A.D., they had gone as far south as Zeeland and England, and as far north as Trondjheim upon the coast of Norway. By what necromancy of Mother Nature the olive cheeks, brown eyes, and dark hair of the Mediterranean race had been changed to the fair skin, blue eyes, and flaxen or tawny hair of Teutonic people we shall never know. Half-clad in the skins of the wolf and bear, usually without head covering, summer and winter the Teutons lived in the open air; and so hardy were they that men, women, and children, as Tacitus tells us, bathed in the rivers, breaking the ice if need be.

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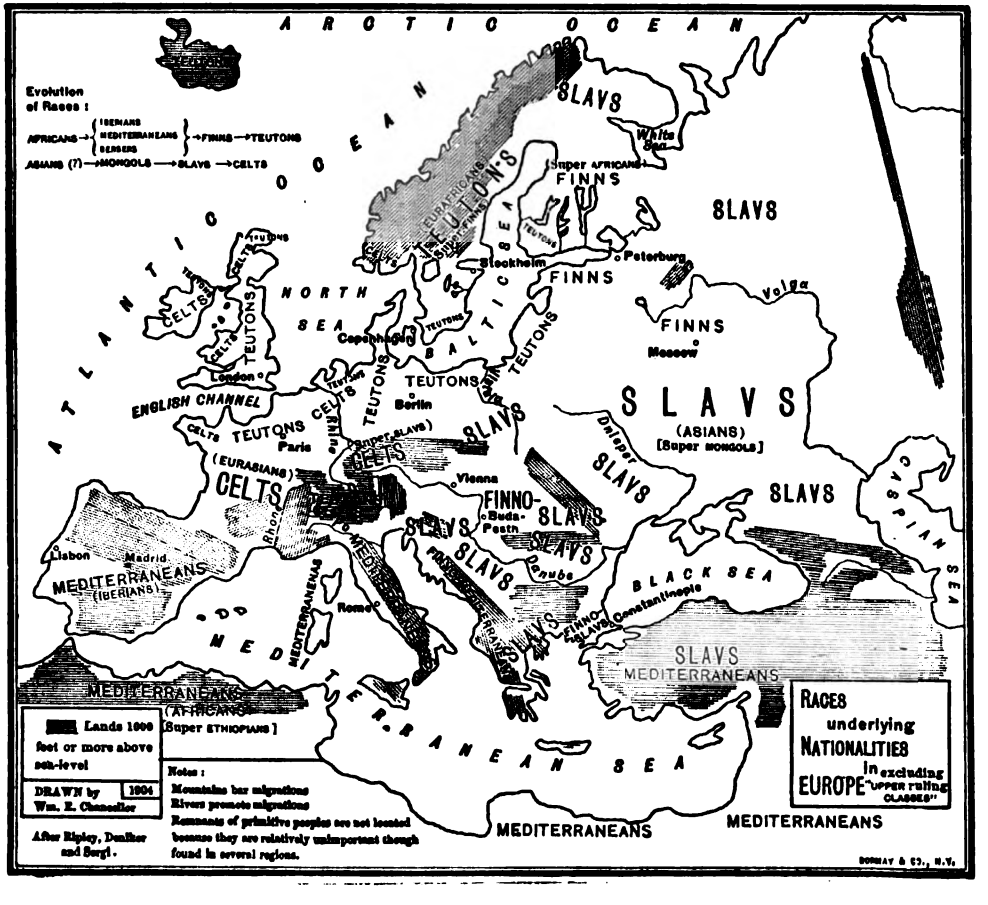

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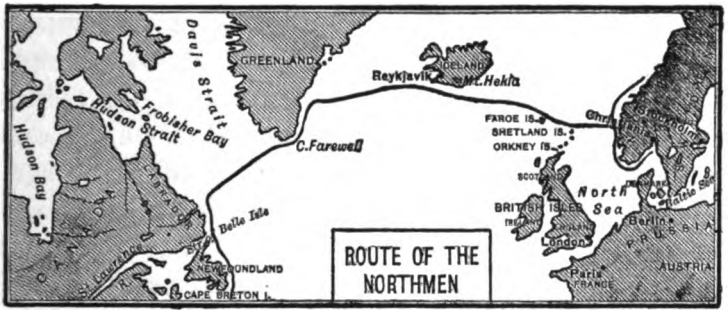
In the course of the millenniums their flesh won the color of snow tinted by their own red blood; and their eyes changed to the color of the sky. Meanwhile, under the influence of the southern sun, the dark eyes and hair of the Mediterranean race were growing black and the olive skin a deep brown.

Northward and westward was probably the course of the migrations of those peoples who, as Teutons,



were to create nations and empires worthy to succeed Rome. Many ethnologists believe that by some sudden migratory impulse a branch of them created Greece. In the ninth century, they already felt too crowded in the region of the Baltic and the North Seas. Sailing thence in their open boats, scarcely larger than canoes, these mighty sons of the North discovered Iceland in 875, Greenland in 983, and Vinland (Labrador) in 1000.

Meantime their softer brothers, softer yet exceeding hard, had learned the lure of the southland; had gone to Normandy and made it great; had gone even as far as Sicily. A Roman poet called the Northmen "sea-wolves that lived upon the pillage of the world." Such and more were they,

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who gave the lion nature to the blood of the English race. Extinct as their own great auk, they yet live. No people like them may ever appear again. They were nurtured in a peculiar isolation, with an unkindness of Nature all about them that elsewhere has bred men below the average of humankind; they grew by generation after generation between the mountains and the shore, and went from the bleak fiord to the bleaker sea. The rise of such a race, with fresh strength for the renewal of civilization, seems a fortunate accident. Theirs was the strength of the hunt in field and in forest and of the fishery on sea and ocean; theirs was the vigor of a people among whom the weak died. With all their agriculture and folkmoots, they were barbarians scarce ten centuries ago.

The Vikings in America

The Northmen were in Vinland in or about the year 1000. Two important names have come down to us, of Eric the Red and of Leif Ericson (Eric's son), which we may receive as belonging to authentic history. But whether the tale be true of the adventures of Thorfin and of his bride, Gudrida, and of their son Snorri, born upon this soil, no man knows. This tale, like many another of American adventure a millennium ago, wears the air of high romance. One must lighten the shadow and shade the light to make a narrative that carries conviction at the present day. There is certainly nothing intrinsically impossible in the stories of the Sagas. But with all the credence to which they may be entitled, the Norse legends do not keep the Northmen longer than two centuries in that Vinland whose location we do

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not positively know; and even in this period they do not claim continuous occupation. At most, the Northmen of the Arctic Sea were but a few thousands in number. Their discovery and habitation accomplished nothing permanent, unless it be that Columbus, voyaging before 1485, as some say, heard the Norse tales in Iceland.

By 1200, the greater number of the Northmen had gone "a-viking," never to return home again. It was not for them to people two vast continents and to build here a great civilization as an offset to that of the Old World. Theirs was a different mission, not less great. They became as salt in two great nations, France and England. They were indeed a bitter brine. Dilute as was the Norse blood in Franco-Celtic Normandy (and it became more dilute in Anglo-Saxon England), it is still the saving salt of the English character. The Northman was utterly without fear, perfectly self-reliant, absolutely loyal to his village; he did not realize physical pain; he was too bold to be willing to lie or deceive; he loved work and the cold; he ate voraciously and drank amazingly; he enjoyed the blood, the din, the terror of battle; and he sang joyously when the storm raged and the sea roared and the forests rocked. The Northman had health of body and force of will; and the Northwoman, mother and wife, was like unto him. It was given to the Teutonic race to learn chastity. We owe the new race-morality to the people of the Baltic Sea and of the North Atlantic. Nor is the reason hard to find, for there was a race that was capable of learning the greatest virtue of

The Norse Character

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fundamental physical self-restraint and of winning thereby supremacy among men. In Jutland and upon the coasts of the lands that we now call Sweden and Norway, all the strength of woman was needed to keep man, woman, and child fed and clothed. The child-bearing woman must have a protector or perish; and a babe once born was precious. From 500 to 1200, was the apotheosis of the individual. Nor is the English race ready to unshrine him yet. Upon the rock of the English individual man, Spain broke in 1588; upon the rock of the American individual she broke again in 1898. We can save what the flower of the Teutonic race gave us as priceless seed, the strength of the man, the beauty of the woman, the health of the child, only by saving the best individuals and by giving them space and work.

In the sixth century, King Arthur went to Iceland and broke a path never afterward wholly lost. There have always been British sailors upon the neighboring seas. In 1576, Frobisher discovered the Strait that bears his name, and made two later voyages, seeking the "Northwest Passage." We hear a modern note in Madam Frobisher's usual phrase in speaking of her husband, "Sir Martin Frobisher, whom may God forgive." The daring navigator, doubly daring, married a widow with three children and a fortune, and spent the fortune trying to find the way to the vast wealth of Cathay. *Cui bono?* is indeed the cry of all the ages and of most of those who are wise in the wisdom of the world. It is a modern note, yet doubtless the wives and the shrewd men of the Greeks used it when

Frobisher

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Jason and the Argonauts sailed forth to seek the Golden Fleece. Notwithstanding her protest and her children's poverty, if there be any earthly comfort for those long since gone, the immortality of her unwordly wise, though wealth-seeking, husband may give peace to the worthy lady's soul. All of this comment applies equally to thousands of wives of thousands of other heroes. Not all sea-captains may win such wealth as Drake won, whose plunder was the equally ill-gotten wealth of Spain.

In 1585, the year that Queen Elizabeth declared war upon the sea against Spain and sent Drake to the Spanish Main, John Davis discovered and named Davis Strait. Like Frobisher, he made three important voyages. **Davis**

We have now reached the immortal half-brothers, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, to whom, as the creators of the English colonial idea, may be given a few personal words. Catherine Champernown, a knight's daughter, was wedded to Otho Gilbert, to whom she bore three sons, Humphrey being the second. After Gilbert's death she was married to Walter Raleigh, to whom she bore Walter, the last of her four noble boys. Walter fought six years in France as a soldier in the Huguenot cause, and then several years in the Netherlands in the service of William of Orange. He learned to hate Catholicism and the Spaniards with a fearful and endless hatred, which in the end cost him his life. **Gilbert and Raleigh**

It was in 1578 that Queen Elizabeth gave to Sir Humphrey his first charter to take possession of the land found by the Cabots. Drake was not yet

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returned from the second circumnavigation of the globe. Raleigh, just home from the Netherlands, was eager to go; he had dreamed of founding a great Protestant empire across the sea to withstand the Catholic power of Spain. This was the dream of Coligny of France; but Raleigh had behind him a nation, a different and a greater nation even than France, while France was divided and distraught. The voyage was unsuccessful, and Raleigh took service in Ireland, conducting himself so bravely and brilliantly as to win the favor of the Queen, who liked his handsome person, admired his elegant dress, and delighted in his wit and courtesy. She made him rich with the English and Irish estates of her political enemies. His older brother, Humphrey, was lost off the Azores in an expedition that sailed in 1583. As the little ten-ton craft of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was sinking, he called out above the storm to his companions upon the other ship, "Be of good cheer. We are as near heaven by sea as by land." That he said it, and that those who heard it cared to remember it, throws a flood of light upon the real mind of the English nation at this time. There was a cool courage in that cry such as only the noblest men ever attain. And the noblest men of every race and people are very much alike. The greatness of a nation depends entirely upon the number of the noble men and women it can produce and upon the nation's own power and desire to appreciate them at their really priceless value. Upon this adventure Elizabeth had not allowed Walter Raleigh to go lest he perish in some "dangerous sea-fight" with Spanish ships.

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Next year, 1584, the Queen gave Raleigh a more liberal charter to foster colonization. In it she expressly said that the colonies were to "have all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said realm of England, any law . . . notwithstanding." Moreover, she declared that they were to be governed "according to such statutes as shall be by him or them established." Such thought well accords with Magna Carta. In a measure, we owe America to Isabella of Castile; we owe something of American liberty to Elizabeth. Had some woman of her blood and talent been monarch of England in 1775, there would have been no American War of Independence. And yet with Elizabeth and Victoria of our race directly before us, there are some who still argue woman's incapacity for government as a reason for persisting in an exclusively male suffrage!

The First Charter

Following the safe plan of right-angle sailing, which was to find first the latitude desired and then to strike into the west, Raleigh's captains, Amadas and Barlowe, made for the Canaries and then sailed westward, reaching the coast of Spanish Florida, July 4, 1584. Like the Northmen and the Huguenots, these adventurers were at once impressed by the quantity of wild grapes upon the coast. They were received by the natives as affectionately as were Drake and his men a few years before at San Francisco bay, three thousand miles across the continent. Upon their return they praised the land at Roanoke for its climate and its fruits, and described the people as "most

The First Colony

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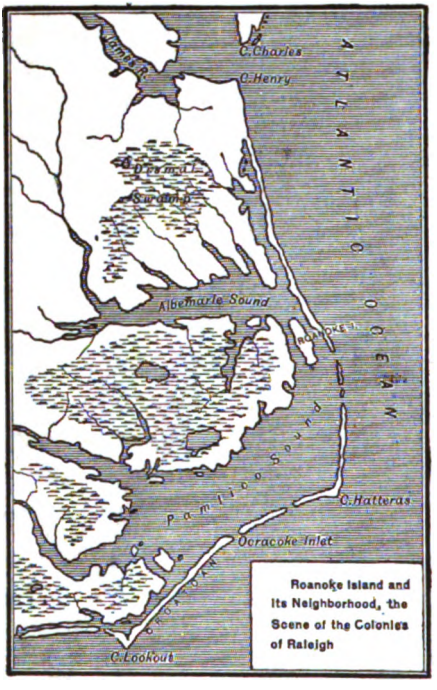
gentle, loving, and faithful . . . such as live after the manner of the Golden Age." The Queen was delighted with the report and gazed with eager interest upon the two native Indians. She named the new land Virginia in her own honor, and made Walter Raleigh a knight. In 1585 Raleigh sent out a great expedition under his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville. Two men, who later became famous, were in this colony: Thomas Cavendish, who made the third voyage around the world in 1586–88; and Thomas Hariot, who later made great contributions to the science of algebra. Grenville landed one hundred and seven men, under the command of Richard Lane, afterwards knighted by Elizabeth. Lane was too much of a soldier and was too eager to find gold and the passage to India to make a good governor for a colony that was meant to be permanent. But he was intelligent enough to see that Roanoke had too poor a harbor to serve the colony's commercial needs, and he tried to find a better location farther north.



Roanoke Island and its Neighborhood, the Scene of the Colonies of Raleigh

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In the midst of the colonists' Indian troubles, due originally to cruel treatment of a pilfering Indian, Sir Francis Drake, with twenty-three sail fresh from the sack of St. Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine, came to their rescue and carried them back to England. The expedition brought home a thorough account of the country, and landscape and animal pictures in water-colors by John White, artist, together with some American vegetable products, notably the potato. A few days after their abandonment of the colony, a vessel came from Raleigh bearing supplies, a fruitless errand. A brief half-month later Grenville himself arrived with three ships; he left fifteen men to hold the claim.

The Second Colony

Then a new and greater expedition was organized by the undaunted Raleigh, who proposed to found "the city of Raleigh in Virginia." John White went out with a hundred and fifty colonists, of whom—significant fact!—seventeen were women. Simon Ferdinando, a Portuguese by birth but resident in England, and already famous for adventures in the North Atlantic, was captain of the ships. At Roanoke, they found no trace of the men left by Grenville. There, in 1587, Manteo, a faithful Indian who had been in England, was made "Lord of Roanoke" with the rank of baron, the first and only lord ever created upon our American soil; and there was born Virginia Dare, granddaughter of White, the first babe of pure Teutonic blood known to be born this side of the Atlantic. If the evidence of blue eyes and of tawny hair and of tradition is to be trusted, not a few of certain earlier adventurers had made the Indian women of

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Roanoke's "Golden Age" the mothers of their children. On White's return to England he found the nation stirred to its soul by the rising war with Spain. Raleigh tried to send a relief expedition, but his ships, by government order, were detained in harbor. Later, in 1589, relief ships were driven back by Spanish vessels.

Spain against England

Then up from the coasts of Spain swept the great Armada. The wisdom of the policy of Henry VIII. was now proven. He had changed the propulsion of England's war-ships from oar to sail, and Elizabeth herself for a quarter-century had encouraged all manner of sea-adventures,—trade, piracy, and discovery. In 1587, she had sent out Drake, who destroyed many unfinished ships that were being built for the Armada. In 1588 was tried the issue whether Catholic Spain or Protestant England should be mistress of the seas and arbiter of the world. Spain was nearly homogeneous; almost a unit for the suppression of heresy, which is simply the freedom of every man to think; with her face toward the past and her heart there. England was heterogeneous—a mixture and a ferment; in 1588, not quite half Catholic, not quite half Protestant, in some small part free-thinking; with her face toward the future and moving fast. It was the Spain of Cervantes over against the England of Shakspere. It was the static against the kinetic, the latent against the dynamic. And Lepanto of 1571, with all its glory of the final turning back of the power of Islam, was forgotten in Dunkirk of 1588, when the power of Catholicism was turned back by the power of Protestantism.

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Among the defenders of England were Hawkins, Drake, Lane, Frobisher, Cavendish, and Seymour, under Howard of Effingham on the sea, and Cecil upon the land. Their eighty ships with fire and sword drove the hundred and thirty of Spain into the storms of the North Sea, so that barely a third ever saw home port again. The "Invincible Armada" was indeed a vain delusion of Philip, that enigma of the sixteenth century, who, like Henry, the other great enigma of the century, buried four wives, but, unlike him, took no fifth and sixth. The one was a blot upon his race, the other a blight upon his people. The one made his plans with fiery energy and wrought them in wrath and blood; the other laid his with cool determination and wrought them in cruelty and hate. Both were among the worst and the greatest of all their race and time, and both served perfectly the great ends of human progress. The success of the one was crowned by the greater success of the brilliant daughter whose mother he had murdered: the early success, the final failure, of the other sank in the collapse of the power of his nation under the incompetent son of his old age.

Overthrow of the Armada

This American nation was founded upon the sea-power of England, and the sea-power of England was the outcome of the character of her people, a character well expressed in that of her greatest monarch, the woman Elizabeth. The Vikings of England overcame the Conquistadors of Spain: the javelin of the sailor slew more than the sword of the landsman. For the Viking was a forth-looking and a forth-stepping man: his aim was

Elizabeth

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rather to act than to wait. Such was the aim of Elizabeth herself. There was indeed no other help for her than the delight in externals, the joy of deeds, the ecstasy of success. No woman of her Teutonic race could contemplate with any peace her real self, her origin, her destiny. She was "legitimate" only because one of her sinful parents was the tyrant who forced Parliament to make the law of her legitimacy. She knew her origin: a wedded man's sudden lust, a vivacious and beautiful woman's frantic love, and the passing of the passion in the terror of a swift death. The mother's death was murder, yet it was as legal as the daughter's birth. Elizabeth's feeling for her father was a mixture of admiration and hatred. She knew that his brutal will had made England independent of the ecclesiastical empire of Rome; that it had made himself an autocrat, whose power she inherited. She shrank from herself with a morbid dislike of her own personality. Of her beautiful cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, she said, enviously, on hearing of the birth of James, "Mary has a fair babe, while I am but a barren stock!" And this dissatisfaction with herself caused her to turn to the outer world for relief. Her clothes were of great splendor, and certain fashions were reserved for her alone. Her pageants were of a Roman magnificence. Her courtiers "wore manors on their back." By her very extravagance and love of personal display, the great Queen encouraged the desire of England for wealth; and the way of wealth was the way of England's ancestral men, "who went down to the sea in ships."

Elizabeth had a genius for managing her nation.

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The Policy of Elizabeth

Her critical importance in history may be made plain by a few speculations as to the different courses history would have taken had the wonderful Queen been in anyway other than she was. Had Mary Stuart or Jane Grey been in her place, some European alliance by marriage might have worked mischief at a time when the need of the people was for isolation and independent development. The refusal of Elizabeth to marry outside her realm was the logical course for any woman who had seen the bitter fate of Catherine and of Mary. To marry within her realm was impossible: there were too many factions in England for that. All the people, of whatever class or sect, were united in their love of the person of "Good Queen Bess." Good she was to them and for them, however we may judge by the severe canons of the twentieth century, one who had so little regard for truth or friendship. Elizabeth became to England a living, incarnate goddess, because she remained unwedded. The English idealism that centred itself upon the Virgin Queen was more than a mere sentiment to flower in the poetry of Spenser and Shakspere: it created a nation out of the factions that survived the "Wars of the Roses" and the marriage of Henry of York, the statesman-miser, with the beautiful and generous Elizabeth of Lancaster. This idealism softened and began to cure the feuds of Catholics and Protestants over doctrines of "the real presence" and of purgatory; over Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; over the suppression of monasteries; over the loss of Calais, and the martyrdoms of Catholics and Protestants.

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The great service of Elizabeth to our mother-country, in the last days in which our own ancestors dwelt there, resulted from that very superficiality of character for which she might be most severely judged. She cared not for what her subjects thought about religion, but only for what they did. She was no inquisitor of souls, no Philip II., no James I. In the forty-five years of her brilliant reign, she stimulated that business enterprise which culminated in the successful colony at Jamestown; and she permitted that religious development of Puritanism which culminated Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies.

The Failure of Roanoke Colony

Not until two years after the Armada, was any one allowed to go to Virginia. Even then the anxious White went out as the single passenger of a ship bound for the West Indies. At Roanoke he found neither daughter nor granddaughter nor any living person to tell their fate. In 1602, Raleigh sent out another man to find the colony, but his agent made no serious effort to succeed. We believe now that seven of the colonists survived the climate and an Indian massacre—six men and boys, and one girl, whom the Hatteras Indians claim among their ancestors.

The Pillage of Spain

Yet, though the colony failed, the value of the experiment in American history was immeasurable. It failed because it was located at a poor harbor; because it was not prosecuted by colonists wholly as an agricultural and industrial enterprise; because the war with Spain prevented Raleigh from sending to it all the assistance his statesman's mind devised; and because

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at a critical time Raleigh incurred the severe displeasure of the jealous and scornful Elizabeth through his marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton, her beautiful maid of honor, whom he seduced that he might have an unanswerable excuse for marrying her, and who made him a loyal wife. In 1594, with the approval of the Queen, Raleigh sent out an expedition to find El Dorado in Guiana, and himself went the next year. A third expedition followed in 1595. But in 1596, Raleigh was needed in a greater enterprise than colonization, an enterprise that finally, at the hands of the craven and miserable James I., cost England his glorious life. Elizabeth sent Essex, her closest favorite, with Howard and Raleigh to attack Cadiz. Then was completed the ruin of Spain upon the sea, for they destroyed every ship of trade and of war in Spain's one important port. The years 1588 and 1596 gave the Netherlands an opportunity to seize the Portuguese dependencies of Spain in the East Indies; then was laid the broad foundations of the Dutch colonial possessions; then was made secure a land in Europe to which the Separatist-Puritans might flee from the persecutions of Anglicanism; for the ruin of Spain and the rise of England meant the liberty of the Netherlands.

Raleigh's work was now done. In 1603, the woman who had discerned his genius and who had supported him by gifts of great estates and of rich monopolies, died in a pathetic old age. She was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland, one of the monarchs of England who greatly concern our history. This James was the son of

James VI.

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Mary and of that second husband, Darnley, whom her lover, Bothwell, slew. Mary was daughter to James V. of Scotland by his wife, Mary of Guise: James V. was son of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. and of Elizabeth of Lancaster. Darnley was son of the Earl of Lenox and Margaret Douglas, in Queen Elizabeth's time next heir to the throne after Mary Stuart herself. There was but little of Scottish blood in James; his hybrid nature made him, as the Duc de Sully said, "the wisest fool in Christendom." He married Anne of Denmark, who was a good woman, but who gave him little help as a ruler.

The Execution of Raleigh

An early result of the coming of this double-minded king to his second and greater throne, was his imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh, the favorite of the Queen who had sent his mother, Mary Stuart, to the scaffold, because her life was dangerous to the English realm. This James would never have dared to do if Elizabeth had not previously tainted Raleigh's reputation by imprisoning him for a real offence, and if his monopolies, activities, and honors had not made many men envious. After hesitating whether to choose Cecil or Raleigh as the first subject of his realm, James decided in favor of the little statesman, who was pliant, shifty, judicious, and industrious, and against the world-famed hero, who was vigorous, direct, imaginative, and impulsive. James imprisoned Raleigh at the dictation of Philip III. of Spain, who remembered bitterly the exploits of Raleigh in his father's time. After a long imprisonment the empire-dreamer was

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released to command an expedition to Guiana and the Orinoco; soon after its return as a failure he was executed, 1616. No blacker stain rests on the character of any English king than this execution of the most enterprising Englishman of his times, the Protestant statesman who helped his nation forward to the days of a Victorian Empire, greatest of all empires in history.

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CHAPTER IV

THE NATIVE RACES OF AMERICA

1600

THE fascinating original documents of the first Europeans who came to the New World seem to give one the notion that a row of Indian pickets guarded the coasts, keeping constant lookout for all possible invaders. Yet a more thorough study of these many documents reveals the fact that the Indian population was known by the first travelers to be but thin and straggling. The occasions when Indians were seen by visitors to the North Atlantic coast were so few as to be noteworthy in the minds of the curious white men, who emphasized them by special and often lengthy accounts.

Number of the Indians

The reader of early American history is likely to form an opinion that the Indians were a serious obstacle to the occupation of the New World by Europeans. This opinion proves, upon careful inquiry and reflection, to be contrary to the facts.

We do not know accurately what was the number of the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World in 1492. Undoubtedly, it was much less than the estimates of the first writers. And yet in certain

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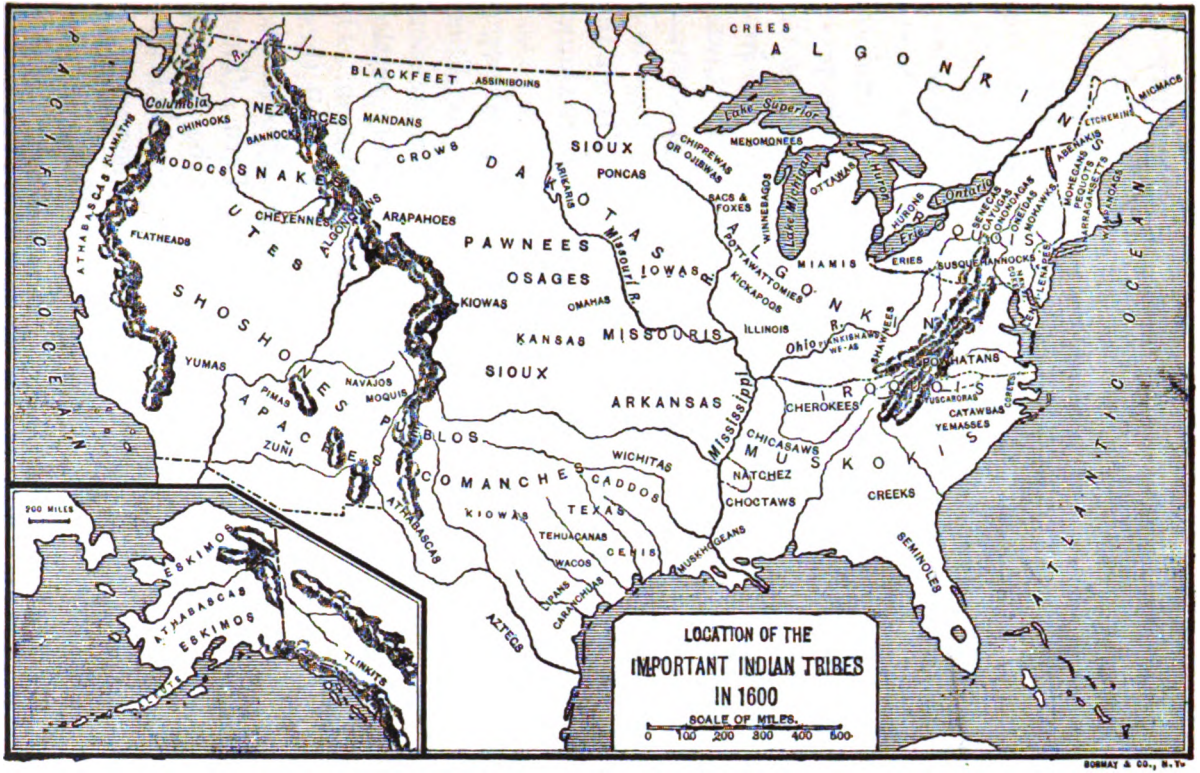

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regions it was larger then than the present population is now. Las Casas credited the West Indies with fifteen million aborigines. The number was probably between three and six millions. The total population of Mexico and of Central America was perhaps a million more than that of the West Indies. The population of South America was ten millions or more. The estimates of the population of North America above the Rio Grande vary from a million to two and a half or three millions, with the probabilities strongly in favor of the correctness of the smaller number. The total population of the New World was thus not more than thirty millions, and perhaps not more than seventeen or eighteen millions. With this may be compared the four millions of people in the England of Henry VII. or the seven millions of Spain and Portugal, in the times of Philip II.

Distribution of Population

The grand total of the American aboriginal population, considered without reference to localities, gives one an entirely wrong impression. The Continents were not thinly settled by a widely distributed population. On the contrary, three quarters of all these people were localized in three general neighborhoods, Hispaniola and Cuba, Mexico, and Peru. There were numerous straggling tribes upon the Atlantic coastal plain in North America, considerable settlements in Central America, and, again, numerous tribes in the uplands of the valleys of the Amazon and of the Orinoco in South America. This crowding of the aboriginal Americans into the narrow lands lying between the broad stretches of the North and South

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American Continents, and between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, is accounted for upon the theory that the last glacial age reached as far south as the Ohio river, driving all living creatures before the ice-sheet. For in that age, the climate of the present United States region was like that of Canada now, and the Gulf was as cold as the Great Lakes are in this geologic age.

Racial Character

The native Americans were a sociable people who preferred the temperate climates, not the hot regions of the tropics, and they found such climates either in the plateaus and mountains or in the islands of the sea. Never prolific, the Indians were developed by the peace of ordered civilizations under despotic governments into great populations. Where peace could not be organized, there the relative numbers of the various tribes constantly fluctuated.

The West Indians

In the golden Indies of the West, was developed a singular people of whom there are to-day no known descendants of pure blood. Apparently that lovely climate, becoming more and more languid through thousands of years of change, permitted the Indians to grow up and to multiply almost without government. Natural food was abundant, clothes were a burden. Their amiability was almost excessive; but they were physically incapable of steady industry, and were by no means intelligent. In the last glacial age, the surface of the West Indies was far greater than it is now, for the land upon which these submerged plateaus and mountains stand has subsided with the passing millenniums. The great ice-sheet withdrew

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from the ocean at least six hundred feet of water, so that from Florida to the Orinoco there was almost continuous land. At last, isolated in the sea, the aborigines of the West Indies, full-blood brothers of the aborigines of Mexico and of South America, developed their peculiar character. Upon them fell the rough and vigorous Spaniards like a hurricane, as violent and as pitiless. The sword of the conqueror and the lash of the overseer, the rack of the Inquisitor and the fire of the governor, within a generation after the landing of Columbus, had destroyed more than half of them, and within three generations had left none of their race. Yet the West Indians would have made ideal slaves, for they were natural helots. Their stupidity angered and their laziness incensed the greedy and imperious Spaniards, while their apparently overpowering numbers kept their masters in needless fear. They were driven together in crowds and burnt in holocausts upon the slightest provocation. The history of the African slave-trade is delightful compared with the tale of the inferno that the Spaniards made in the West Indies; for there was this important difference,—the slave-catchers and-dealers desired to get as many Negroes as possible to some American port, but the Spaniards desired to kill off the West Indians so as to make room for Negroes to work their plantations and mines. They were so busy in this dreadful occupation that they had no time and no energy to spare to push such enterprises as the colony of Ayllon upon the Potomac. This was indeed fortunate for the soil on which we now dwell.

The Indians of the great populations attained a

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degree of civilization that in certain aspects reflected the highest credit upon their race. In Peru it was a civilization not notably inferior to that of Egypt before the great pyramids were begun. Nor was the culture of the Aztecs greatly inferior to that of the Incas. There were many points of singular likeness with the early cultures of the Old World River Period of civilization.

Indian Civilization

Our concern is chiefly with the Indians of the United States. Who were they? What did they represent? To what had they attained? Race may be determined by two classes of criteria, the physical and the intellectual. Among the physical criteria are: the ratio of width to length of the skull, color of skin, quality of hair, size of body, appearance of babies. Among the intellectual criteria are: language, ideas, government, customs. The native Americans have no typical skull-ratio: some of them are dolichocephalic, that is, long-headed; some are brachycephalic, short-headed; some are mesocephalic. These types of skulls are found in neighboring tribes, often in the same tribe. Their skins are of a characteristic color, a generally light brown through which red shows: there are various shades of the resultant copper-color. Their hair is abundant, straight, coarse, and black. There are variations in their physical features, but no extremes. The size of the Amerinds is typical: the body is slender and not very tall. A six-foot man has always been very rare. Except among the Eskimo, short men and stout men were very rare likewise. Now all these physical traits,

The Indian Race

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together with the marked similarity of all Amerind babies, are the characteristics of a fundamental and thoroughly homogeneous race. The American aborigine physically no more resembles a Chinaman (as was formerly supposed) than he does a Scotchman; the basic color of his complexion is the pinkish red of good blood; and the superficial color is tan, the result of millenniums of life in the open air through all seasons, both night and day.

As for the intellectual criteria that determine the American Indians as a single race, they are even more convincing. From Labrador to Patagonia, these Indians spoke languages of the same type, strong in verbs of action, weak in abstract nouns. Their commonest religion was characteristic: a cross symbolized the four points of the compass, and a mythical hero-god typified the procession of the seasons. They reverenced only their god of evil; and when urged to worship their god of goodness (or the God of the Christians), were wont to argue that since it was the nature of the good god to be good, it was useless and foolish to praise him. To placate, or to divert, the god of evil formed the purpose of all aboriginal religion in America. In government the various tribes were organized in gentes and clans, usually matriarchal, here and there patriarchal. The "totem" was universal; it represented the individual's property or belongings and was usually typified by the totemic animal of the gens. The rulers were usually elected or selected: democracy was indigenous to this soil. Finally, the various customs of Amerind social life were the same, or similar, from the Innuits of the extreme North to the Terra del

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Fuegans of the South. Polygamy was common, though necessarily not universal; property was inherited through the mother; everywhere the "medicine-man," part priest, part fiend, was held in awe; and slavery in the Old World sense was unknown, for desirable captives taken in ordinary war were adopted into the tribe and the rest were killed.

A Primary Race

There are no traces in the minds of the native Americans of any ideas from across either the Atlantic or the Pacific. They were primitive people who, in the course of millenniums of years, had become differentiated by integration into more or less distinct tribes, speaking more or less distinct languages and dialects. But they were far from having reached that degree of differentiation which can fairly be called heterogeneity. There was not as much difference between a Patagonian, an Inca, an Aztec, and an Iroquois in 1492 as there was between a Celt, a Saxon, a Norman, and a Pict in the single island of Great Britain in the year (1066) when stark William of Normandy landed at Pevensey to steal a realm. Sometimes the Indians are contrasted as architectural, agricultural, hunting, and predatory. It is true that in Mexico and Peru there were stupendous buildings not known elsewhere; yet their construction was due rather to the great numbers of workmen than to any essential difference in intellect between Aztec and Inca on the one hand and Iroquois and Navajo on the other. All the Indians were agricultural: even the most warlike, the Algonkins, systematically cultivated their fields of maize, squash, and beans. There were no Indians who were only hunters or

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fishers, and there were but two or three tribes that were predatory. Even in the most thinly settled regions the Indians were considerably advanced beyond the nomad state.

Origin of the Indian

Whence came these so-called "Indians"? Undoubtedly from that same ancient "littoral" upon which grew the original men. The American is as distinct a race as is the Mediterranean, which is found to-day in substantial purity only in Spain, northern Africa, Arabia, and Syria. The ethnologists now speak of four fundamental races: the Indo-European-North African, the South African-Malay-Australian, the Asian, and the American or Amerind; these four races are known commonly as the white, the black, the yellow, and the red. They developed along the margin of the sea not less than fifteen or twenty thousand years ago in the period between the first and second glacial ages, when there was dry land from Labrador to France, when Siberia was below the surface of the ocean, and the Caucasus with Ararat divided the Arctic from the Indian Sea. In that age, the Atlantic was a warm ocean, for a great land-barrier shut away the Arctic Sea and the north wind; then the climate of New England was like that of Florida or southern France in the present geologic age.

Through these twenty millenniums, the red men grew in numbers and in knowledge. The race has followed the advance and retreat of one and perhaps of two great ice-caps; has seen the American elephant and the little horse disappear; has grown from dependence upon clams and oysters and rough stone

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implements to knowledge of fire, to skill with the bow and arrow, to pictured, written, and (in Mexico) phonetic language, to a cosmological view of the universe, to a theory and practice of government, and to a measure of social harmony and of intertribal peace.

Considering the fact that neither American Continent produced an animal capable of such useful domestication as the horse, the cow, or the sheep, we may indeed consider the culture and civilization of the American race surprisingly well developed. Their best peoples had far outstripped the black race, were not far inferior to the best of the yellow race, and were equal to many peoples of the white race. Their finest people, the Iroquois, in 1610 were physically, intellectually, and morally not inferior to the Jutes who went to Kent in 476. In 1864, the five hundred pure-blooded Iroquois soldiers in the Union Army averaged the strongest and tallest of all the regiments, and were in every respect the equals or superiors as soldiers of any other soldiers. Be it remembered, also, that the Indian has a genius for government. Barrios of Guatemala and Juarez of Mexico were full-blooded Indians, and Porfirio Diaz of Mexico is a full-blooded Indian, who began life as a poor boy, and rose by sheer force of superior ability, character, and energy to be one of the greatest rulers of men the world has ever seen, a constructive statesman, a nation-builder.

Notwithstanding this rather favorable general view of the Indian race, there are certain facts that compel qualifications. There were certain marks of degeneracy visible upon Indian life, marks painful to those who look for the

Prospects

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signs of the decline and fall of civilizations, who remember the ruins of empire from the Indus to the Ebro. The great populations of Mexico and Peru had led to callousness regarding human life; and there was an increasing disposition to offer up human sacrifices. We need not believe all that the Spanish chroniclers tell us in justification of the course of the Conquistadors; the evidence is in, and it is all against the apologists for Spain. Nevertheless, life was too cheap among the Indians. In Peru, a destruction fell upon the Incas as overwhelming and as deserved as that which fell from Vesuvius upon the Pompeiians, for the indecency that seems always to attend great and congested populations was beginning to eat away sound morals and sound health. There was a sign of progressive decadence in North America in the increasing hostilities between the tribes, and the early explorers found many evidences of recent internecine wars that had destroyed comparatively large populations. Just before the advent of Champlain, there had been waged a fearful war between the Hurons and the Iroquois, and a war only less fearful between the Delawares and the same Iroquois. Shortly after this epoch, the Iroquois fell upon the Illinois and destroyed nearly all of them. Similar wars had occurred also in New England.

Indian Warfare

There is one aspect of these conflicts as recorded by the historian that the moralist may dwell upon; in so doing he is merely emphasizing a well-established principle of sociology. It has been said already that the Indians were a homogeneous race in process of breaking

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up into integrated sub-races, but that the differentiation had not advanced so far as to amount to heterogeneity—to such heterogeneity as causes the modern moralist to pronounce the sexual union of individuals of the white and yellow races or of the white and black as miscegenation. All the Indians recognized each other as members of the same human family. None of them, like the Greeks of old, looked upon all other men as barbarians. It is notorious that family feuds are the bitterest of all. A feud growing up between two neighboring North American Indian tribes could be finally settled only by the complete extinction of one or the other tribe; the few survivors in the final defeat in a feudal war were not adopted into the victorious tribe, nor were they made slaves. Either course was contrary to the totem. The survivors fled to the protection of some other, and usually distant, tribe to be adopted or destroyed as mood or circumstance determined. There is every evidence that war accounts adequately for the comparatively small number of the Indians from the Rio Grande to the St. Lawrence. Also, it accounts for the complete disappearance of the mound-building Indians whose progress in peaceful industry made them the easy prey of their wilder neighbors. Whether these mound-builders utterly perished or after generations of wandering reappeared as the pottery-makers of Mexico or of Georgia, nobody knows. North America is but a repetition of the tale of Europe, in that, century after century, the northern peoples fell upon the weaker and more cultured peoples of the south, and often drove their own weaker northern neighbors southward. Wild

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physical strength is an effect of climate, and expresses itself in a principle of human history.

The Iroquois

Against this intermittent scourge of war the Iroquois confederation was itself a protest. In the fifteenth century arose one Hiawatha, an Onondaga, who persuaded the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas to unite as the Five Nations. Later, they became the Six Nations by adding to themselves the Iroquois-Tuscaroras of the Carolinas, who at their summons migrated to New York. The confederation of this proud people,—their name Iroquois means, according to some authorities, the I-have-said-it people,—put an end to their own feuds with each other. Had Champlain not visited Canada, nor Hudson the great river, nor John Smith Virginia till a hundred years later, the Iroquois would doubtless have made themselves masters of all the region between the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Ocean, and the Gulf. Yet, in their wild prime, they numbered scarcely four thousand warriors and perhaps twenty thousand souls. Their descendants of pure or nearly pure blood, who now live as farmers and tradesmen in New York State and vicinity, are twice as numerous.

An Intellectual Wild Man

It would take us too far afield, in the interesting but irrelevant aboriginal history of the land that is now the United States, to trace the process and the results of similar warfare in other regions. A population of nearly a quarter of a million industrious Indians was almost completely destroyed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century in the Salt river valley by the

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incursion of the murderous Apaches from the north. Those who call the Indian an "intellectual wild man" do not go far astray. The closer one studies, and the nearer one approaches, the real life of the Indian, the more one's respect grows for his abilities and his attainments, and the more one revolts from his manners and customs, those outer expressions of the real soul. So severe have been the criticisms of many of the noblest men and women of the European race regarding the conduct of the white men toward the red as to necessitate a brief summary of the moral characteristics of the Indians of the eastern part of the United States. In entering this field of contention we do well to remember that all our knowledge of the Amerinds of 1600 comes from their enemies, the whites, whose prejudiced descendants we are. The natives of the sixteenth century were certainly less cruel, less treacherous, less wicked than many of their European visitors. The total result of the intercourse of white men with the red has been to debase them in health of body and of soul, how greatly we are not frank enough to admit.

The Amerinds had no police, and in times of peace needed none, to keep order in their communities. They had no almshouses, for hunger in the midst of plenty was unknown in that age and people of a prodigal, though barbarous, hospitality; the greater the shame to us, with our city "slums," our "bread riots," our years and our districts when famine smites the many to advance the financial interests of the few. The aborigines had few diseases, for they lived in Nature's

A Comparison

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sanatorium, outdoors in the open air. The men and women all worked; even the children were helpful. The ties of maternal blood were strong. The rich American Indian had no poor relatives to despise, for all shared his prosperity. The Eskimo had a special religious ceremony upon the occasion when the rich man of the village called all his neighbors together and gave to them everything that he possessed. The Amerinds had no knowledge of the chimney, or of the true arch, or of smelting iron, or of phonetic writing (save the Mayas only), or of finance, or of the love of God for men; but he lacked also the prisons for making criminals incorrigibly bad, the factories for ruining the health of the mothers of the race, the mines and railroads where men, working under the pressure of hunger and cold, daily risked their lives in the interests of "civilization" and the property-lust, euphemistically styled "business enterprise." In the regions of Canada and of the northern States of our own country, these wonderful people survived four, five, even six months of winter, with its roaring winds and heavy snows and penetrating, relentless cold; and in this extraordinary climate actually developed their highest types of manhood and womanhood. For this achievement we need not praise them. The fact commends them to us with a force beyond the power of words to express. In isolation from all other cultures, the best of the Iroquois had reached a height of character and had developed a system of government not far removed from the best achievements of the Teutons themselves before they became regenerate through the spirit of Roman Christianity.

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The Indian was incomprehensible to the Englishman, from whom he differed more than the Briton differed from the Angle or the Saxon. He was incomprehensible because he had little conception of "fair play," which is the essence of English character. He could die for a friend nobly, but he could shoot an enemy in the back and pride himself upon the deed. And such was the strange and perverse duality of his nature that he might capture his worst enemy and adopt him into his tribe or family. One of the fiercest, most blood-curdling tales that comes down to us of our Teutonic ancestors before their civilization is that which recites this terrible deed: A band of Jutes seized a monastery and ordered the monks to stand in a line; down that line the leader passed, slaying them one by one. It is, indeed, an awful tale, and the pity of it is that it is well authenticated. But the Indians systematically practised three tortures, each of which was as awful as such a human shamble. They made a single helpless captive run the gauntlet, one against many. They tied the captive to a tree and amused themselves by throwing tomahawks at him before they burned him. They set fire by night to palisaded villages with which they were apparently at peace. By Teutonic standards, these deeds of foul play were inhuman.

No Fair Play

The Indians were as obnoxious as they were incomprehensible. They were obnoxious in that trifle of the prejudice attaching to them from their name. They were supposed to be Asiatics. For nearly four hundred years, until the rise of geology as a science and its revelation

Race Antipathy

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of geological history, men have tried to explain the Indian as an Asiatic. The common people of Europe hated the Asiatics then far more than they do to-day, when the present hatred is sufficiently terrible. But the sixteenth century was nearer to the Crusades than is the twentieth. The Indians were obnoxious for several reasons. They were exceedingly curious, and were so ubiquitous in their curiosity as to seem omnipresent. This familiar and prying curiosity offended Englishmen and Englishwomen, for it invaded the "castle," the home. The Indians were too slightly advanced in civilization to understand all that the Englishman meant by property and industry; they preferred stealing wealth to earning it. This was not true of the best of the Indians, but the best were very few. They were physically unpleasant. This was not due to their color or to their physique. Their features were neither agreeable nor repulsive. Yet their appearance in dress or in lack of it, their manners, and their voices, were decidedly unpleasant. The "noble red man" of the forest looked very much like what he really was—a man of ignorant but inquiring mind, deceitful, resolute, persistent, self-reliant, cruel, uncanny. The white man feared him, because he was both incomprehensible and obnoxious.

Services of the Indian

The fear was not mutual, but one-sided. The Indian, who had far the greater cause to fear, was not afraid; the wild world does not breed fear, but courage. The Indian welcomed the white man, and at first often reverenced him, seeing in him a white god upon a friendly visit from the sky. The natural Indian

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knew nothing, could imagine nothing, of lands across the sea. Powhatan, who sent an escort with Pocahontas to England, gave one of the men a bundle of sticks and charged him to make a notch for every white man whom he met. The services of the Indians to the Europeans made successful settlement here possible. This was as true of New Spain as it was of New France and of New England. When we read of millions of ducats, gold and silver, shipped by the Spaniards from the New World to the Old, we ought to remember that these were dug in the ore, smelted, refined, and stamped by Indian hands. New Spain was founded upon the pillage and the oppression of Old America. West Indian, Mexican, and Peruvian slavery was the basis of the American Spaniards' luxury and decadence. But Appalachian mountain and Atlantic coast Indians could not be made slaves. The United States Indian by his resistance to the colonial Englishman made industry and enterprise necessary.

It is historical justice to enumerate the services of the Indians to our early colonists. They succored the Jamestown and Plymouth settlers, in their first years of terrible distress, from disease and starvation. They prevented the total failure of both colonies at the beginning. They taught the settlers how to grow corn, beans, and squash, and thus helped make the colonies permanent. In Virginia, they taught the culture of tobacco, which made that colony rich. By their trade in furs, they made the prosperity of the Dutch settlements upon the Hudson. They taught all the settlers that woodcraft of which as civilized strangers in wild lands they knew nothing. They

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brought the Europeans back to Nature. Then they fought almost every advance of the whites beyond the coast, compelling them to become alert, energetic, and faithful to each other. They were the ever-present teachers of colonial union. It is undoubtedly true that the early wars of the colonists with the Indians were all avoidable. It may even be true, as some statisticians assert, that every "good dead Indian" cost the colonies ten white men. It certainly is true that the Indian wars were frightfully expensive in lives, in time, and in treasure. But the historian is compelled to record that, in compensation for all these losses, the Indian wars made the union of the colonies inevitable, and that but for those wars there could have been no general War of Independence. Had all the colonies been Pennsylvanias, they might all be Pennsylvania colonies to this day, a speculative fate not intolerable to thoughtful people, yet of singular interest. In war and in peace the Indians taught, either intentionally or by their mere presence and natural activity, inevitably the duties of bravery, vigilance, self-reliance, energy, honor, and co-operation; for the Indians, whether friendly or hostile, seldom spared the cowardly, the slothful, the helpless, the indolent, the treacherous, or the isolated. In that vast and uncomprehended school of Nature in the New World, with its reaches of sea and sand, its marshes, woods, fields, and hills, its torrid summers and almost arctic winters, Cavalier, Puritan, Huguenot, Quaker, gentleman, mechanic, white bondservant, black slave, jailbird, cutthroat, found the Indian a relentless drill-master. The red man drove the Old World

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out of the thought of the white man and drove in the New World. For this incomparable service to the cause of human liberty, he has had a better reward than some of the critics are willing to admit.

Indian Self-Respect

Many thousands of Indians became absorbed in the general population of the colonies, sometimes intermarrying with the whites in the second and third generations. There are American citizens of the purest Indian blood in nearly every State, East as well as West, North as well as South. It is the especial glory of the Indians that comparatively few men or boys became and remained slaves; few Indian women were ever the concubines or mistresses of white men. The Indian temper was hard, like steel. They have maintained at least the appearance of equality with white men. There are doubtless to-day more civilized and uncivilized Indians and citizens of Indian blood in the United States than there were wild Indians in 1607.

Indian Tribes

Writers upon Indian themes enjoy recounting Indian ideas in religion and Indian practices of government. These matters do not greatly concern the progress of American history. They must be touched upon incidentally in connection with colonial settlement, with the later expansions, and with the various Indian wars. But of Indian tribal divisions, particularly of such divisions and their relationships as are indicated by their languages, a brief account here appears requisite as a basis for understanding the Indian alliances with each other and with the English, the French, and the Spanish colonial peoples. Of the intricacies of

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the linguistic relations, it is enough to say that even those who have given their entire lives to tracing them have come to no complete and definite knowledge. The "doctors" certainly disagree upon all manner of details. But a few things are either substantially certain or else highly approved by experts. Such of these as have historical significance or importance may appropriately be recorded in a general narrative.

The earliest of all Indians of whom any tales are told may have been the more or less mythical Alleghanies (to use one of many spellings), who lived in Ohio and Indiana, and who may have been the mound-builders. They were driven out by the Iroquois and the Lenapé, perhaps about 500 A.D. It is supposed by some American ethnologists that the Cherokees are their descendants. Whether this be true or not, the Cherokees, to judge by language, seem to be cousins of the Iroquois. In 1500, all of the Indian tribes upon the seacoast, from the Savannah river to the St. John in the north, were Algonkin. They were divided into many tribes. We hear in early American history a good deal about the Pequots of Rhode Island, the Mohegans of western Connecticut, the Lenapé of the Delaware river, and the Powhatans of Virginia. Of all the Algonkins, the Crees upon Lake Michigan are supposed to be nearest to the original stock, though the Indians themselves called the Lenapé (Delawares) the mother-tribe. Farthest west of them all, were the Blackfeet, along the Red river of the North in Dakota. Not nearly so numerous, but more powerful than these, were the Huron-Iroquois, in all some

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dozen tribes. Their headquarters were southeast of Lake Ontario, but they were wide-spread and somewhat scattered.

South of the Appalachian mountains, were numerous tribes, apparently remnants from the fierce warfares of the North, who spoke many different languages. They are sometimes classified as the Muskoki. Among them perhaps the best-known were the Seminoles, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Muskokis proper. A great body of the western tribes spoke a language often called Athabascan. They ranged from Alaska to Mexico, along the great Rocky mountains. Among these, the Navajos became famous for industry, the Apaches for war, and the Zuñi for their pueblos. Between the Athabascans and the Iroquois ranged many Indians speaking several different languages; among them we hear most of the various Pawnee and the Sioux tribes. In the Rocky mountains, especially in their southern plateaus, were the Uto-Aztec tribes or Shoshones, of whom the most talked of were the Comanches of the South, the Bannacks of the North, the Moquis, the Shoshones (Snakes), the Utes, and the Aztecs. There were also the various Pueblo Indians, of whom the Zuñi, already mentioned, are to-day the best known. In California, were the various Yuma tribes. Farther north, upon the Pacific coast, were several linguistic stocks.

Tribal Organization

Over two hundred and fifty tribes have been carefully discriminated by the students of Indian languages; in 1607, there were undoubtedly many more separate tribes than there are now. These tribes were divided into various bands. In many of them there were

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subdivisions into clans, phratries, and gentes, mere scientific terms to indicate alliances of blood and propinquity. Sometimes a single gens made a band, but more often several gentes, living together as a phratry, constituted the band. In nearly all the tribes, relationship was traced through the mother only, and no maiden could wed a man of her own totem. The husband came into the wife's family and under her totem, losing his own. In some of these matriarchal gentes, the women formed the council and selected the male chiefs for the affairs of peace. Women were sometimes made the tribal heads. The tribes that reckoned descent in the father's line were few, and by no means more advanced in culture than the others. Among the patriarchal Indians were several Sioux (Dakota) tribes. For this variation between matriarchal and patriarchal tribes, no cause is yet known.

Indian Culture

All of this accumulation of tribal names and linguistic relations has been presented for the purpose of illustrating several facts. The mixing up of Athabascans with Uto-Aztecs, of Iroquois with Algonkins, indicates a story of periods of peaceful isolations and of epochs of warfare whose details we can never know. Nor are we likely ever to know what tribes dated back farthest, whose origins were nearest to the first people. As primitive man was utterly lost in Europe, so he was also in America; the distance from the savage of England's kitchen-middens to the sixteenth-century Scot was as long in years and almost as great in culture as that from the savage of the kitchen-middens of the Champlain district to the sixteenth-

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century Onondaga. In fact, a comparison between the Scot of that time and the Onondaga would not be greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. From the highest of the Iroquois and of the Algonkins to the lowest of the Pawnees (Caddoes) was a far cry; still lower were the root-digging, sickly Utes; lowest of all were several Yuma tribes in California, whose naked men and women knew nothing of agriculture or of any industrial art. Language does not wholly account for the great differences, for in the same stock were tribes far apart in culture. Undoubtedly many of the lowest tribes were degenerate, having seen better days. The differences in culture are to be accounted for chiefly by climate and by success in war: by climate, upon the biological law that what is good for the individual is bad for the race, and what is bad for the individual is good for the race; and by success, upon the sociological law that a successful war makes a long peace in which the arts thrive. But we may not push the "laws" too far. Scandinavia helped to produce the Northmen: the race was strong enough to endure, and to benefit by, its rigors. But Alaska produced only the Tlinkits, a superior people, it is true, understanding property and commerce uncommonly well, but without the substantial energy of the great Teutons. Too successful a war among savages may be followed by too long a peace. The coming of the whites prevented the Iroquois Five Nations from making all their neighbors "women" like the Lenapé, and thereby transforming themselves into self-idolaters, whose pride runneth to destruction.

Of the Indian "long house," with its various rooms

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for family life; of the dances, feasts, councils, war-paths; of the arts of basketry and of pottery; of the skill in hunting, fishing, trapping; of the beautiful birchbark canoe; of the feathers and war-paint; of the legends and incantations, of lovers' romances and poets' songs; of the happy hunting-grounds in the life hereafter, we may see fleeting visions and catch faint echoes along the marches of the Europeans in America, while they are going up into the land to possess it. In the final upshot of a people's history, we judge it by the best thoughts and aspirations of its best men and women: we remember Greece for Socrates, Plato, Phidias, Demosthenes, Pericles, Aristotle, Sophocles; for Athens in her glorious prime, when a few men within a few generations brought the race to its brief acme of human greatness. Such is the principle. In its final verdict, history will forget the unshamed complacent Indian women, and the pilfering, friend-betraying men (would forget them, though they formed the great mass of all the tribes, as they did not); and will remember the Hurons, who priced a man's life at thirty gifts and a woman's at forty, and Hiawatha, who formed a league of tribes to abolish war altogether, a league that antedated the Hague Court of Arbitration some six hundred years. As we shall see, had all the first white men been themselves good and wise, like Eliot and Penn, or shrewd like Smith, we could have saved the Indian for an immediate high civilization, quite possibly at the cost, however, of our own independence from Europe.

The Indian at his Best

All in all, the red men were developed far beyond primitive savagery. Their advance had been

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greatest in government, in which they had most nearly reached the whites. In the family institution, at its best, the development was highly creditable. The agricultural and industrial arts were well begun. Of education as an art, they knew practically nothing. They practised their male youth in the handling of weapons, and with magic rites initiated them as braves among the warriors of the tribe. The instruction of the girls seems to have been based solely upon imitation. Religion was imperfect and vague, but their social relations were, upon the whole, ethically superior to those of most barbarians. As for war, tribal and private, they made it considerably worse than the early seventeenth-century white man's dream of hell; and that white man knew something of Dante's Inferno and of Torquemada's Inquisition.

Status of the Indian

Comparing the Indians with Old World peoples in their physical appearance, we are reminded of the "Aryan" Hindoos and of the Finnic Prussians; in mental ability we may compare them with the ancient Picts, and in moral quality with the Tartars. We have no right to despise them. The progress of the European white race has been marked by too many helpful inventions, discoveries, revelations, it may be, to warrant any pride. Without writing and print, compass, sail, gunpowder, and a gospel whose Sermon on the Mount is not yet established in our own worldly wisdom, the red race rose to the highest stages of barbarism. There is no very strong reason to believe that in continued isolation the red men could have risen as a race to the height of a true civilization.

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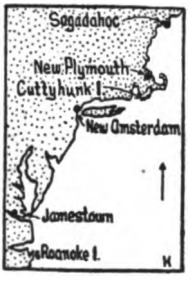
CHAPTER V

THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN

1607–1610

To Bartholomew Gosnold belongs the honor of founding the first successful English colony in the New World. He was not without experience in oversea adventures, for in 1602 he had planted a colony upon beautiful Cuttyhunk island in Buzzard's bay on the coast of Massachusetts. But the colonists, looking forward with fear to the rigor of a New England winter, and anticipating a considerable profit from a shipload of furs and sassafras that they had collected, remained there but four months and then went back to England, whither Gosnold himself had preceded them, that he might secure further means to carry on his colonial enterprise. Gosnold was a navigator of intelligence, and in the westward voyage had sailed on the great circle, making the trip in eighteen days, and landing at Nahant. He was not only an enthusiastic seaman and colonizer, he was also a good deal of a statesman. He it was who organized the

Gosnold



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Historical Perspective

POLITICS

Explanatory: — Color shadings mark increase of population. Color circles measure populations. Events are representative, not exhaustive.

A waved line at the left edge of the color shading marks proprietary control of the colony. A plain line, Royal control. A broken line, Independence.

Va.Co.1606, Charter
Va.1607, Settled
Va.1609, New charter
1610
Va.1612, Island charter
1612, New Netherlands Trading Co. formed
N.Y.1613, Settled
N.Y.1614, New Netherlands Co. chartered
Va.1616, Council of New England
N.J.1617, Settled
Va.1619, Charter liberalized
Mass.1620, Settled
1620
N.Y.1621, W.Ind.Co.
Mass.1622, Me.& N.H. charters
Va.1621, Liberal Constitution
Me.1623, Settled
N.H.1623, Settled
Va.1624, Charter taken away
N.Y.1626, 1st provisional government
Va.1629, Gov. Harvey unwelcome
N.H.1629, New charter
Mass.Bay Co.1629, Settlement at Salem
1630
Mass.1630, Plymouth enlarged
Md.1633, Settled
Va.1632, Laws revised
Conn.1631, Charter from Plymouth
N.Y.1633, Dutch claim part of Conn.
Conn.1633, Settled
Va.1635, Old Plymouth patent taken away
Md.1634, Lord Baltimore's 1st colony arrives
Va.1635, Gov. Harvey deposed
Me.1635, Area enlarged
R.I.1636, Settled
N.Y.1638, Staten Island colonized
New Haven1638, Settled
Me.1639, Area again enlarged
Del.1637, Swedes settled
1640
N.Y.1641, 1st representative assembly
Mass.1641, "Body of Liberties"
Del.1640, Dutch settled
N.H.1641, Union with Mass.
Pa.1643, Settled
Mass.1643, "United Colonies" (Mass., Conn., N.Haven & Plymouth)
N.Y.1644, New Amsterdam chartered
Md.1645, Ingle seizes the government
N.Y.1646, Brooklyn chartered
Mass.1645, 1st public school law in America
R.I.1644, Chartered
R.I.1647, Code of laws adopted
Va.1649, Royalists oppose Cromwell
Conn.1650, Dutch surrender claims
1650
Va.1652, Submitted to Cromwell
Md.1652, Parliamentary Commissioners
Mass.1652, Acquires Maine settlements
Del.1651, Dutch claim control
N.Y.1652, 1st L.I. towns received their patents
N.C.1653, Settled
N.Y.1653, New Amsterdam incorpor.
Md.1656, Two rival gov'ts
Del.1655, Dutch establish control
N.J.1655, United by the Dutch
Conn.1656, 1st "Blue Laws" enacted
Md.1658, Proprietary government re-established
Mass.1660, Regicides arrive
1660
Va.1660, Loyal to the Stuarts
Mass.1661, "Declaration of Rights"
R.I.1663, New Charter
N.J.1664, Colonizing Cos. chartered
Conn.1662, Royal Charter
Caro.1663, Chartered
N.Y.1664, English control
Del.1664, English control
N.Y. 1665, N.Y.City incorporated
N.J.1664, Proprietors dispute titles
Caro.1665, Supplemental Charter
N.J.1665, "Concessions & Agreements"
Conn.1666, Four colonies established
Mass.1668, More Maine settlements acquired
S.C.1670, Settled
1670
Va.1670, Suffrage restricted
N.C.1671, Colonists defy the Governor
N.J.1673, Dutch gain control (one year)
N.Y.1674, Dutch control
N.Y.1674, English control
Conn.1675, Colonists intimidate Gov. Andros
N.J.1676, Division into East and West Jerseys
N.C.1677, Pasquotonk independent two years.
Va.1676, Bacon's rebellion
Mass.1677, Maine bought
N.H.1680, Separated from Mass.
1680
N.J.1682, Purch. by Quakers
Md.1681, Baltimore and Penn dispute
Pa.1681, Chartered
N.Y.1683, "Charter of Liberties"
Pa.1682, Del. united
N.J.1685, Royal col.
N.H.1685, Royal control
Pa.1682, Penn's "Frame of Government"
Va.1684, Royal control
N.Y.1685, Royal control
Mass.Bay Co.1685, Charter taken away
N.Y.1686, "Charter of Liberties" repealed
Conn.1687, "Charter Oak"
Mass.1689, Gov. Andros imprisoned
R.I.1689, Charter resumed
N.Y.1689, 1st American Congress
Conn.1689, Charter resumed
1690
N.Y.1691, "Charter of Liberties" re-established
Mass.1691, Plymouth and Mass.Bay Co. united
S.C.1690, Gov. Colleton banished
Md.1692, Temporary royal control
Mass.1692, Jurisdiction over Nova Scotia
N.Y.1693, Assembly vote first published
Md.1694, Capital moved to Annapolis
N.Y.1699, "Charter of Liberties" restricted
1700

Va.	N.Y.	N.J.	Mass.	N.H.	Md.	Conn.	R.I.	Del. & Pa.	Caro.
Popula. in 1700 [illegible]	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000	Popula. in 1700 [illegible],000

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first Virginia Company, taking over the patents of Raleigh.

The Virginia Company secured its effective charter from King James in April, 1606, and Gosnold was ready to embark by the middle of December. Yet it was not until January 1, 1607, that the two ships and a pinnace actually set sail. How many were on board as emigrants and crew we do not know with certainty, but there were certainly not less than one hundred and five emigrants, while there is good warrant for accepting one hundred and forty-three as the correct number. Gosnold was not himself in command of the little fleet, but a certain Christopher Newport, of great fame. This was the Newport who, in 1594, took the *Madre de Dios* in the Spanish Main and brought her four million ducats to London; wherefore Elizabeth released Raleigh from his confinement (because of his affair with Elizabeth Throckmorton) that he might skilfully dispose of the great plunder and pay to her the share she claimed,—as some say, more than the share due to her,—as one of the subscribers to the expedition. Gosnold was in command of the smaller of the two ships, and during the long voyage by way of the Azores and of the West Indies to the Virginia coast, was recognized as a leading spirit in the enterprise. The colonists intended to land at Roanoke, but through errors in reckoning their actual landfall was at the mouth of the Chesapeake bay, where they gave the name of Point Comfort to the northern cape, in gratitude for escape from storm and from the close confinement of the ships.

Upon this voyage, they found peace at sea, a peace

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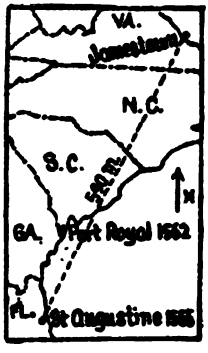
due to the rising sea-power of England. Yet the man who prepared the instructions to the colony, probably Richard Hakluyt (name to be remembered until man and the sea are no more!) carefully directed that they should go at least a hundred miles inland up some navigable river, "and the further up the better . . . to the end that you be not surprised as the French were in Florida." The fear of the Spaniards was not yet over, despite the overthrow of the Armada, the sack of Cadiz, the capture of Fayal, and all the other achievements of the new English navy.

The Instructions



This voyage of Christopher Newport reminds us not a little of that by Christopher Columbus one hundred fourteen and a half years earlier. Each had three ships: the *Susan Constant* under Newport, the *Godspeed* under Gosnold, and the little *Discovery* under Ratcliffe were not much larger than the *Santa Maria* under Columbus, and the *Pinta* and little *Niña* under the Pinzons. The second Christopher conducted as emigrants and crew a few more men. Both Christophers were sailors by profession; and had the first, like the second, confined his ambitions to the sea, he would have left an even brighter name. In one respect, the second of these expeditions was more hopeless than the first. Before Columbus, no one had essayed to cross the deep, unless we credit with such a purpose the captain sent out by King John of

The Expedition

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Portugal in 1474, and the more or less mythical voyages of Skrolno, Cousin, and Cortereal before 1492. Columbus had no uniform record of failure to daunt him. But Gosnold the colonizer, and Newport the commander, adventured upon an enterprise in which, for both the English and the French, the failures hitherto had been in unbroken succession.

The colonies of Spain were successes in appearance only. Her emigrants were conquerors encamped in towns and cities, protected by forts, and dependent upon the conquered Indians and upon imported Negroes for subsistence. Gosnold had a very different project in mind: its difference marked all the difference that existed in 1607 between the Englishman and the Spaniard. The Englishman of 1607 was a far better man in his mental equipment than the Englishman of 1492, while the Spaniard had degenerated both mentally and morally in no slight degree. Bartholomew Gosnold proposed to establish what the Spaniard viewed with express contempt, a self-supporting colony. His plan provided what the Spaniard could not conceive, a colony largely self-governing and based on the liberties of Englishmen. But it was not for Gosnold to live to see his great plan realized. Objecting vigorously to the site of Jamestown as unhealthful, he was overruled, as wisdom often is, by ignorance clothed with power. It is hard that he should have been one of those who paid the penalty for that mistake, dying of the heat and a fever in August, 1607. The death of Gosnold gave to a greater man than he the opportunity of rendering a peculiar service.

Colonization

To the inauguration and the success of Jamestown

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The Fulness of Time

colony five persons were indispensable; and Jamestown colony itself was indispensable to the development of Americanism. That colony gave to us the origin of what is greatest in our life—the institution of political self-government. The five persons indispensable to the first successful colony in America, without each of whom no such colony could have been founded, were Drake, Raleigh, Elizabeth, and Gosnold, of whom much has already been said, and John Smith, who made that common name forever honorable by his great services in the critical early days of Virginia.

In 1607, Sir Francis Drake, "the Dragon," and Elizabeth, "the Virgin Queen," were dead. Drake had made his name a terror from Palos to Panama; Spanish mothers sang lullabies of "the Dragon" to their children, terrifying them into a stupor of sleep. More than any other one man, Drake had built up the navy of England, upon whose dreaded power the security of oversea colonies and trade was wholly dependent. "Good Queen Bess" had sat at the head of her Council Board of men for four and a half decades, forecasting England's life better than any man there, and ruling them by that Tudor will which few men or women ever successfully opposed. By "monopolies," by sea-ventures, honest and piratical, and by one and all of those enterprises whose number and character gave to the Elizabethan Age its distinction, she had laid the foundations of Protestant power in Europe and America. Those foundations were business prosperity, individual initiative, a common patriotism, wealth, courage, and co-operation. In 1607, Raleigh was cooped up in the Tower

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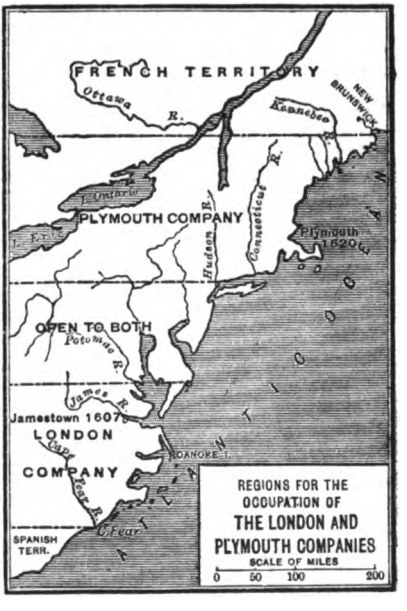
of London, his great work done, his jealous patron dead, his martyrdom yet to come. Upon the lines of his statesmanship, and influenced by his spirit, Jamestown colony was moving into history. In the colony itself was Gosnold, the friend of Raleigh; upon him the mantle of the great colonizer had descended.

The Virginia Charter

The contents of the Virginia charter gave evidence that despite the sojourn of Drake at San Francisco bay, all the men in interest still believed that a great sea, the so-called "Sea of Verrazano," lay but one or two hundred miles back from the coast, as the old maps manifest. The charter granted the land between the French claims at the north and the Spanish possessions in the south to two stock companies, later known popularly as the London and the Plymouth Companies. The ruling council in England was to consist of thirteen persons, while the stock company that founded each colony was to have thirteen directors. This resort to the then comparatively new device of the stock company showed that the financial distress of Raleigh had taught its lesson. Raleigh had spent upon Roanoke forty



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thousand pounds, the equivalent of perhaps two million dollars in the affairs of modern business. It would be interesting to trace the political powers assigned in this first charter; but its partial failure led so soon to its reconstruction as not to warrant the presentation of the details. The spirit of the charter was the spirit of liberty through self-government.

Charter-Members of the Companies

As for the supporters of the venture who were resident in England, they were the noblest of the realm: including the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, already mentioned, who was the trumpet voice of the England-yet-to-be across the Atlantic, and who had recently been made prebendary of Westminster; Sir Thomas Smith, first governor of the English East India Company (which had been organized but six years before) and later the bountiful patron of Hudson and Baffin; Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, author of a treatise upon religion so liberal that it was burned in St. Paul's Churchyard by the High Commission, and later the beneficent patron of the Pilgrims, blood relation of Lawrence Washington, forbear of our own George Washington, and many others. In the London and Plymouth Companies, were men knighted for special gallantry at the siege of Cadiz and in other naval adventures; a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert; a nephew and a grandson of Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice; a Master of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and a close friend of Shakspere.

No colony ever set out with braver hopes than that of 1607: the poet Drayton himself wrote for

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them some famous stanzas. To Gosnold more than to any other man, we owe the organization of this well-based, wide-spread enterprise, which was destined to fulfill the dreams of his staunch friend, Raleigh.

The Local Council

In accordance with the strange directions before sailing,—directions due perhaps to the whimsical mind of King James himself,—when the fleet of Newport reached the shores of America, the sealed box containing the final instructions was opened, and six men were found charged as a local council to control affairs. These were the ship captains, Gosnold, Newport, and Ratcliffe, as might have been expected, and Edward Wingfield, John Martin, and John Smith, of whom the last was to become by far the most famous. At that time, however, he was in chains upon a charge of mutiny. During the six days' rest at Domenica in the West Indies, John Smith had not been allowed to set foot on shore. In this interesting condition an amazing character steps forth boldly into American history.

John Smith

Captain John Smith was then twenty-seven years of age. He had, however, long been in the full tide of the world's life. He had been a soldier in France and in the Low Countries; had seen Egypt and Italy; had fought against the Turks; had been a slave in Constantinople, whence he was sold into the Tartar district of Russia; had finally escaped to Poland; had traveled after that in Germany, France, and Morocco; had fought upon an English pirate ship at sea; and had spent at least one season in Ireland. The picturesqueness of

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his life is panoramic. In the course of these adventures, he had been shipwrecked upon the Mediterranean, had seen Pope Clement VIII. with his cardinals in their red hats creeping on hands and knees up the Holy Staircase in the ancient Roman church; had fought, before two armies, three successive duels with Turks, killing each combatant; had madly loved a Tartar princess; and had made a life-long friend of Prince Sigismund of Transylvania, the buffer province between the Hapsburgs of Austria and the Ottoman Turks. Through those ten years of earlier manhood, close packed with experiences such as turn the heads of most men, John Smith passed coolly,—so coolly, indeed, that many sane English people considered what brief mentions he made of his adventures as vainglorious fictions based upon but few facts. The researches of his latest biographers, pursuing the critical methods of the modern historical school, have brought to light much evidence decidedly corroborative of Smith's own *Travels*. Small wonder, then, that this young man, who in his soul was strongest of all the company, was suspected of plans of mutiny in that long, tedious, and badly directed voyage. He had invested in the expedition five hundred pounds of his patrimony, nearly all he had, and felt therefore an exceptional interest in its success. So much may be offered by way of explaining the character of the man upon whom was to depend the issue of the coming crisis.

The colonists arrived in Jamestown, May 13, 1607, and Smith immediately demanded a jury trial and was promptly acquitted. The outcome of the trial proved the entire incompetency of Wingfield, whom

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the council had elected president. Distrust and jealousy and bitter misery soon followed his unwise actions.

In June, Captain Newport sailed away, leaving at least one hundred and five men as permanent settlers. Among them were George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and the Reverend Richard Hunt, a most worthy and admirable divine. All were men,—unfortunately half were "gentlemen," in an age when that meant men unlikely to work. Most of the other half were incompetents and wretches from city, town, and country of not too prosperous England. Before the summer was over, more than fifty were dead because of the great heat, the miserable diet, the bad water, and the miasma of that plague-smitten spot. In the fall, matters went rather better. What with adventures among the Indians and with abundance of good hunting, life was fairly endurable. In the winter, trouble again set in, for food there was none. John Smith had made himself temporarily president of the colonists and very influential among the Indians. The Powhatan of the Powhatan Indians, an old man with a "sour look," as Smith reports, sitting in his rude hall of state among his girl-wives (for he was an arrant polygamist) and gazing at his double rows of warriors, had allowed his little daughter Pocahontas to save the life of Smith, whose party had slain two Indians. And now, in their awful trouble, the thirteen-year-old child came with her train of Indian maidens carrying baskets of corn and venison to rescue the starving wretches. How clearly this incident shows that in peace the

The First Year

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Indian women ruled: Pocahontas would save her brother, the wonderful white medicine-man, whom, to please her, the Powhatan, her father, with mighty incantations, had adopted as a son!

Early in 1608, Newport returned with provisions and new settlers. His ship he proceeded to load with brilliant mica dust that he thought was gold. Against the protest of Smith, Newport carried this worthless stuff to England. Very soon afterwards, a second ship appeared with more provisions. The inner history of the colony was a history of bickerings, trials, idleness, and intrigue, during all of which only one strong man appears, John Smith. In Newport's ship, Wingfield, the incompetent, returned to England; well would it have been, had Ratcliffe also departed at that time!

The Second Year

We may not trace even the important events in early Virginia one by one, but only seize here and there an event that lights up the ancient scene. In the winter of 1608–09, John Layden married Anne Barras, the first wedding of English people upon American soil. By order of King James the colonists crowned Powhatan as under-king of England's fifth kingdom, the other four being England, Ireland, Scotland, and France. In that season there were two hundred settlers, yet of the original six members of the council but one was left. John Smith, Wingfield, and Ratcliffe had been sent to England; Gosnold was dead; Martin, an old man, had gone away for a time in deep disgust; and Newport, the colonial agent, was constantly upon the sea. The result was that Smith, by popular election, was made president of the colony.

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During the several years from 1607 to 1610, there were constant by-plays of intrigue that throw much light upon early colonial history. The Spanish minister to England was constantly urging Philip III. to send an expedition to massacre the little colony. This Gondomar deserves to be remembered as an exponent of both Machiavelli and Philip II.; he practised what the former had preached, and he preached what the latter had practised. He was afraid of the Virginia colony as a center for the spread of Protestantism and as a refuge for English privateers and pirates. He remembered with anger that the Spanish mission colony of 1566 on the Rappahannock had failed. He saw that Chesapeake bay offered perhaps the safest location on the North American coast for such a colony. It affords an insight into religious and political conditions in England at the time, to know that in the employ of Spain, as paid spies and confidential advisers, were four English dukes and earls.

The Spaniards

Another important by-play was the trickery of the Indians, notwithstanding Powhatan's making John Smith an under-chief. And yet but for the Indians, the English would undoubtedly have starved to death upon several occasions, notably after the fire of the second winter, when all their buildings and stores were burned. There were various communications sent home by the colonists regarding Virginia. These included Smith's *True Relation* and many letters not true. Indeed, there was much sharp criticism of the colonists by the Council in London for their indolence in not pushing forward the two great enterprises for

More Troubles

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whose consummation the merchants of the Council were very urgent, namely, the discovery of the Sea of Verrazano and the northwest passage, and finding pearls and gold. There was also not a little criticism of the English company by the settlers for not sending them supplies more liberally. Looking back upon all these matters that seem almost as remote as ancient history, we can see clearly enough that many of these criticisms were neither wise nor just.

Finally, of affairs of historical interest, there were the explorations and discoveries of Captain Smith, in which he showed singular accuracy, almost that of a modern geographer. He explored Chesapeake bay thoroughly, and wrote to Henry Hudson, his friend, a letter that greatly influenced the course of American history in the tidal inlet at New York. There clings to these New World adventures of Smith that same air of high romance which we feel regarding those in the Old World. Smith is fairly entitled to go down forever into history as the cosmopolitan adventurer, the last great knight-errant the greatest wanderer of all knight-errants, the soldier of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. To him we must give the saving credit that he declined the offer of the Powhatan Indians to be made a chief with an unlimited number of damsels to wife. Had he set an example of race intermixture, the English colonies might never have become successful. There is a certain fineness about John Smith,—he belongs to the type of the great English soldiers such as Kitchener. He was like a father to Pocahontas and a brother to all

Adventures

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women. And he understood the Indians, seeing straight into them: to him they were always "the poor savages."

In 1609, Smith was deposed, and Captain Argall brought the ill-advised message. Argall was "a man of the times," with certain rank qualities. We remember him chiefly for that buccaneer exploit in 1613 when, under orders from Dale, then governor, he fell upon a colony of French "intruders" into Virginia at Mount Desert island on the Maine coast and exterminated them; most of them were slain, a few fled in a fishing-vessel to France, and fifteen were taken prisoners. Later, Argall destroyed Port Royal in Acadia. In 1609, the officers of the new government, except the governor himself,—for there was to be an elected president no longer,—were coming out to Virginia with a fleet of nine vessels and five hundred emigrants. Of these one was lost in a great storm, when eight days off the coast; and another, the *Sea-Venture*, with a hundred and fifty souls on board, was wrecked upon an island of the Bermudas. This vessel carried the lieutenant-governor and the admiral. For nine months they lingered in that earthly paradise, until they had built two cedar ships to carry them to Virginia. It speaks well for the mechanical skill of these new immigrants that the larger ship, the *Patience*, built in part of the wreckage of the *Sea-Venture*, was of eighty tons and remained in service many years. This adventure of shipwreck and island sojourn suggested to William Shakspere, retired playwright and stage manager, his last great drama, *The Tempest*, and was long remembered in

The "Sea-Venture"

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England for the scenes of contrast of fearful storm and idyllic calm.

Meanwhile, the seven ships had brought back the old troublers of Virginia's peace,—among them Ratcliffe, who, with three hundred new settlers to back him, at once tried to supersede Smith. Much wrangling followed between the minority of competent workers and the majority of incompetent idlers. An explosion of a bag of gunpowder in a boat, wounding him terribly in the thigh, made it impossible for Smith longer to fight his enemies, white and red, in Virginia. There he left some four hundred and ninety settlers, among whom many of the latest arrivals were unfit for any colonizing enterprise and were dangerous to the success of Jamestown. He left also three ships, seven boats, the new harvest, several cannon, above two tons' weight each, three hundred muskets, a hundred good soldiers, seven horses, and hogs, sheep, goats, and fowls in sufficiency. But he left also a government based on communism, developed in confusion, and administered in Virginia by scoundrels and incompetents. That terrible gunshot wound proved the saving of Jamestown, for though Smith with his faithful thirty-eight soldiers could not rule there, alone in England he could and did save the colony from the results of the "Starving Time."

The "Starving Time"

Once Smith was gone, all the colonists were concentrated at Jamestown. This cut off the supply of fish, oysters, and game. A general debauch began. Of thirty men sent to ask Powhatan for food, but two escaped, one being saved by Pocahontas. Taking a pinnace, a group of scalawags left the colony to

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become pirates. Then the Indians began to refuse food at any price, and to kill off all stragglers. The one settler who had the good sense to try fishing in the James river the Indians spared, a fact that shows that the Indians hated the white men for their idleness as much as for their race. They looked upon the Europeans as loafers polluting their land. The palisades that protected the settlement were torn down for firewood, and all the living animals were killed for food. Starvation set in. One pitiable, hunger-crazed wretch, who had killed his wife in a quarrel, ate her body, and was burned at the stake, for not all moral sense was dead even in that awful time. When Somers arrived in his cedar ships with nearly one hundred and fifty immigrants and fourteen days' provisions, he found sixty starved settlers, of whom half were the survivors of Smith's hardy "thirty-eight." After debate, they decided to abandon the colony, and some were for burning all the buildings that were left. Only by his personal effort could Gates prevent this complete destruction. On June 7, 1610, they went on board the ships, proposing to spend the summer fishing on the Newfoundland Banks, and, with full shiploads as propitiatory offerings, to return to England and to face the angry stockholders of the London Company. Next day, at Hampton Roads, the lookout descried a sail.

The Rescue

Never was closer escape of colony from failure. Once more salvation had come through John Smith. Following his vigorous, soldier-like, plain-spoken letters home, he had told to the London Company the true facts. Foreseeing the need of a rescue from starvation, for he understood the

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characters of most of the men left behind, and knowing the necessity of a new quality of emigrants, he had persuaded the Company to send out Baron Delaware with three ships, with abundant provisions and a body of mechanics as settlers. Under Delaware, who was an accomplished ruler of men, Jamestown was rebuilt and extended; and thereby the permanence of the English in America was made secure. Had Jamestown failed, the Pilgrims probably would never have ventured across the sea.

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CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY IN VIRGINIA

1610–1660

FOR the causes of the crisis of 1610 in England's oversea venture, we must look to the organization, motives, and plans of the Company that made the experiment, and to English social conditions in the reign of King James. There was a governing council in England, consisting of twenty-five members. This Council was independent of the company of stockholders. Neither Council nor Company had frequent meetings. In the colony, all trade was public; the stores were in charge of a "cape merchant," or treasurer. There was, of course, no private property in produce or merchandise; "of course" is said advisedly, for a plantation, not a colony, was proposed. All persons went out for the good of the Company, therefore no women or children were sent. The few women who went in 1608 did so by courtesy, not by the Company's intention. The Company's instructions to the Virginia emigrants and seamen included such varied matters as these: namely, to administer government justly; to find the South Sea, gold, Raleigh's lost colony; to trade with the Indians; to

Instructions to the Colonists

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convert them, to crown Powhatan as under-king; to practise agriculture; to make pitch, glass, and soap-ashes; to build houses, to cut timber, to grow silk-worms and mulberry-trees; to hunt, and to get furs; and to develop a market for English cloth. Small wonder that the emigrants were confused, and that the worthless ones did nothing!

In May, 1609, a reorganization took place, with a change in the grants of land to the Company of the region two hundred miles north and south of Point Comfort. By its provisions, the governing English Council consisted of members of the new corporation, to which great powers were granted, including war and peace, absolute sovereignty over all colonists, and the right to export settlers. All vacancies in the Council were to be filled by election of the Company, the King appointing only the first members. A share of stock was valued at twelve and a half pounds,—purchasing power at least three hundred dollars, and general value at least that of six hundred dollars to-day. Each emigrant received one share, and the "extraordinary" persons two or more shares, for class distinctions must be maintained.

A Profit-and-Loss-Sharing Corporation

After seven years (during which time all the settlers were to be maintained at the Company's general expense, and all their products were to go into a common fund), the profits were to be divided and paid in land. The enterprise was that of a great joint-stock corporation with dividends cumulative for seven

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years, operating a plantation and a factory, to use the latter word in the old sense of trading-store. This was not "communism," as it has so often been called. It was, rather, a vague forecast of a modern profit-sharing stock corporation, with this important difference, that the shareholding employees were to receive shelter, food, and clothes instead of wages. This difference is what, in view of the facts of English history, we ought to expect. Slavery, serfdom, and villeinage had disappeared in England, giving place but a few generations before, to wage-service. Far from condemning the Virginia joint-stock company, one who consistently maintains 1609 as his viewpoint must commend it. The prevailing modern wage-system, in which the employee has no share in either the profits or the losses of the business, but commutes his returns by accepting wages from the employer, is as radically defective as the Virginia plan of 1609, though it is defective in different respects.

Fall of the Company

One great advantage of the support of the plantation by a large company rather than by a single individual, was that, by the body and variety of its resident English shareholders, it interested great numbers of the English people, a fact of the highest political, religious, and social importance. When, in 1624, the London Company fell by the intrigues of its enemies and by the bitter antagonism of the miserable King, acting through the forms of law, it had a thousand stockholders in England, among whom were sixty guilds, fifty noblemen, several hundred knights, and other hundreds of merchants, professional men, and country

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squires. Nor was the partial failure of the plantation due to excessive niggardliness on the part of the Company. In the early years, wretched supplies were sent out by the scoundrelly contractors, for there was a corrupt element in the Company. This, however, was by no means with the approval of any considerable number of the directors. It was rather an undetected fraud. In the course of its entire existence of eighteen years, the Company spent one hundred and fifty thousand pounds upon the enterprise, an almost total loss; this represented a purchasing value of four million dollars and a financial power equal to eight million dollars to-day.

Causes of Failure

Yet the candid critic cannot call the Virginia Company successful, and may assign two causes. The first has already been indicated. The Company had some patriots in it, who were intelligent men; but the great majority considered it solely as a financial venture. It was a "western planting," out of which a great "usury" was desired. At the same time, these merchant-adventurers were not clear in their minds as to the exact method of getting the profit, and could not foresee and decide what industry, what agriculture, what commerce, would pay best. This cause may be stated as a failure to conceive correctly, definitely, and consistently the exact nature of the enterprise. In this particular, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Dutch much excelled the English; but upon the greater breadth and varied nature of the English enterprise was founded the liberty of the Virginia colony. The second cause lay in the social conditions of the English people in the first

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decade of the seventeenth century. In that period, English society was settling down after the earthquake of the time of Henry VIII. and the whirlwind of the time of Elizabeth. Nearly all of the great ruling families were new; many great fields of business were new; monasteries were closed up; farms had been turned into sheep-pastures, as Sir Thomas More lamented in his *Utopia;* and gentlemen, priests, soldiers of fortune, former lords and squires, former land-attached peasants, were all afloat,—veritable flotsam and jetsam upon the tide of life.

The King

At this particular crisis in the development of the English people, a King was on the throne who began to preach *jus divinum regis*. In this doctrine, primogeniture, then so generally accepted as wise and right, revealed its inherent weakness. In all the long line of English kings, from Cedric to his own time, was scarcely one who manifested so clearly the accidental rather than the providential nature of all inheritances of power through birth as either James I. or his second son, Charles I. Henry, first son of James, died at an early age of greatest promise. James and Charles believed, and tried to practise their belief, that a Sovereign Power appoints all kings, to whom therefore in all matters all other men must be subject. In this case, the punishment of the original sin of the father was visited upon a son who equally sinned and equally merited the punishment; but before the head of Charles had fallen upon the scaffold, the doctrine had helped forward the peopling of America. For her peace in 1610, England needed a great sovereign, an Edward I. or a Henry I. or II. Primogeniture sent her

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instead James I., who beheaded Raleigh, immolated in life-long confinement Arabella Stuart, dickered with Spain, played fast and loose between Catholicism and Episcopacy, betrayed Protestantism upon the Continent, destroyed the Virginia Company after forcing many penal convicts upon the unwilling colony, and drove the Pilgrims oversea; but by way of good, authorized the beautiful and definitive English translation of the Bible, for he was a scholar of a certain pedantic kind. James was partly good, which in a ruler is disturbing to the moral sense of his people and of historical critics of later times.

The Colonists

In such an age, under such a king, men of all classes and conditions were ready to emigrate. They had heard the reports of a Golden Age and an earthly Elysium in Virginia, and they prepared for such conditions. The first company sent out was composed too largely of gentlemen. Even so, had they taken wives with them to cheer and nurse them through that awful first summer, their death record would have been much lower. The later companies were too heterogeneous to work together harmoniously, and the settlement was broken into factions. For success in Virginia, two classes of colonists were needed: soldiers and workers, all with their families about them. After the emigrants had learned the soldier's art, and after they included a sufficient proportion of workers, abundant success came. Virginia taught a costly lesson to Massachusetts, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; but it was a lesson that New Amsterdam never had to learn. It was also a lesson that Virginia herself did not perfectly learn, for she re-

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sorted most unfortunately and too willingly to Negro bondmen, to fill out her required complement of laborers.

We may now return to the progress of the colony, to which the able and skilful Lord Delaware came as governor in 1610. He remained but one year, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, who proved to be the strongest of Virginia's early rulers. Dale was a despot, who sent to the galley all men who would not work. Upon criminals he inflicted the terrible punishments then common upon the continent of Europe; and the wheel, the rack, and the redhot iron were frequently employed. The colony prospered under this terrible master, who was a theological scholar and a very courtly gentleman as well as soldier. We can forgive him, but cannot love him.

Governor Dale

It was in the time of Dale, in 1613, that John Rolfe, widower, married Pocahontas, then eighteen years of age. The story of this courtship and marriage must have sounded strange, indeed, to the French in the north and to the Spaniards in the south; yet it reflected admirably the best English character of the times. Rolfe's first wife had borne him a child at Bermuda, but when and where she died is not definitely known. That Captain Argall, who has already been mentioned as the destroyer of the French colony, captured Pocahontas and made her a hostage prisoner in Jamestown. There she fell in love with Rolfe, who had many misgivings as to his right to marry the "heathen" girl. However, Governor Dale and the excellent minister, Reverend Alexander Whitaker,

Pocahontas

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approved of the marriage, upon political and religious grounds, and Rolfe and Pocahontas were duly wedded at church with the consent of the Powhatan, and in the presence of the fair Englishwomen, then in the colony, and of many admiring Indian maidens. Almost any man of any other race, thus loved by the amiable girl, would have made her his mistress, or at best his concubine, with the entire approval of his colony. Not so Rolfe. True, Pocahontas was a princess, for the Powhatan had been crowned king by order of James. But only the English commonly respected even the princesses of the Indians. It was a successful match, though Rolfe was destined soon again to become a widower. Four years later the princess died of smallpox in England, where she had met Queen Anne, made a furore in English society, seen once more her dear friend, John Smith, whom she supposed dead, and brought upon her husband the charge of treason for marrying the daughter of a king. The silly James actually feared that the son of Pocahontas would live to set up a separate kingdom in Virginia! Since so many important historic personages die without issue or without establishing a line of descendants, it is interesting to remember that the half-breed Rolfe grew to man's estate, married an English lady, and became the ancestor of several of the famous "First Families of Virginia."

Democracy and Slavery

In 1618, Lord Delaware, on a voyage out from England to Virginia, died suddenly; it was a grievous loss, for he had been a staunch and influential supporter of the colony since the beginning. His death, among thirty

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deaths that followed a brief stay in the Azores, aroused a suspicion of poisoning by the Spaniards, to whom such a deed would not have seemed reprehensible. In the following year the Powhatan, "emperor" over eight thousand Powhatans, died, and left his power to an old, inert brother; but Opechankano, a younger brother, quickly seized control. From that time, the Indians became a greater peril to the English than before. That tale may be found in another part of this history. Governor Yeardley now comes upon the scene, an excellent man of satisfactory ability and character, in whose first months of administration there fell two great and startling events: democracy began in July, 1619, and Negro slavery in August. Both events require consideration.

The Chesapeake Bay Region

Chesapeake bay is the greatest of all the great tidal inlets upon the Atlantic coast of the United States, and was destined to be the earliest scene of colonial activity. Upon its greatest tributary, the Potomac, is now the political capital of the Western World. The bay is a drowned river valley, and perhaps the most interesting of all such valleys upon the earth. Into it from the west flow four great tidal rivers, the James at the south, next the York and the Rappahannock, and at the north the Potomac. Besides these, are many small rivers and streams. At its entrance, the bay is some fourteen miles wide between Capes Henry and Charles, so named by Newport in honor of the two sons of King James. The great bay below the Potomac averages

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twenty miles in width, is two hundred miles long by the line of the mid-channel, and contains not a few islands. It stretches through a quarter as many degrees of latitude as the Baltic Sea, upon whose shores our Teutonic race originated. Its rivers drain an area larger than England, whither our branches of the Teutonic race migrated after their sojourns by the Oder, the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Seine. In climate, with respect to the Teutonic race, the James river district offered advantages to immigration superior to those of any other district of the Atlantic coast. Its extremes of temperature are less than those of any district farther north; and it is not as malarial as are all districts farther south. Its winters are mild. Upon the rivers and shores of the entire Chesapeake bay region might then be found all manner of waterfowl, while in the bay itself were oysters, clams, crabs, and fish in unlimited supply. These have been the natural food of man through untold millenniums. The Powhatan royal court might be traced in its travels by the piles of oyster-shells left behind. In the fields and woods, there were many wild creatures, both harmless and dangerous, but nearly all fit for food: deer, bear, raccoon, turkey, hare, squirrel, partridge. The healthy and normal man who could use gun, fish-and-line, and knife need not want for food, taken daily, save perhaps for a few days at a time of winter storm. For such periods let him use a little foresight. So abundant was this natural wild food that the Powhatans might well have numbered ten times as many

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without exhausting the larder of Nature there. With cultivated corn added, there was the basis of a vast population. By the year 1619, there were two thousand English people—the survivors of six thousand immigrants—in this fourth and easiest habitat of our Teutonic race.

These two thousand English colonists were not packed closely together, but, as John Smith so urgently advised, were now well scattered. Virginia is no land for towns and cities. It has hundreds of miles of "seaport"; the banks of its tidal rivers are all ready for wharves and piers. Every plantation had a waterway to the sea.

This beautiful open region of ocean, bay, river, field, and forest was a breeder of men who desired and determined to have freedom and personal independence through equality and self-government. We need not rehearse the histories of the various charters. Mere servant shareholders in a company plantation could not at first expect to be self-governing. Yet no Englishman ever loses entirely the ideas of the folkmoot, the town-meeting, the witenagemot, and the parliament: this democracy is his inheritance from Saxon and Norman forefathers, and comes down to him as surely as his body itself. The very Indians living round about these Virginia Englishmen held their councils; even their women had equal voice with each other and with the men in all affairs except war. They knew also about war itself, as the rescue by Pocahontas of Smith from a plot to assassinate all Englishmen in 1608 showed. In very truth, control of the colony by men, however good, three thousand

Self-Government

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miles away was impossible. In 1619, the settlers secured the right, cheerfully voted by a majority of the home shareholders, to make their own laws. They were Company's servants no longer, but colonists. They sent two burgesses from each of the eleven boroughs to the first General Assembly, and, like true men, the burgesses forwarded a petition for authority "to allow or to disallow" the Company's "orders of court," as his "Majesty hath given" the Company "power to allow or disallow our laws." Hereafter, the Indians themselves appealed not to individual Englishmen or to the Company, but to the General Assembly. A new age had begun. In 1621, came the Ordinance and Constitution granting the petition of the colonists. Democracy had won in the form of representative republicanism. The foundations of the American Revolution were laid, in 1619, in the souls of two thousand colonial Englishmen, before the *Mayflower* set out from Plymouth.

Negro Slavery

Two months later, African Negroes had been established as slaves for life upon several plantations, and as the personal body-servants of certain Company officials. This was not, however, the beginning of servitude in the New World, or even in the English part of it. Already there were some white indentured bond-servants in the colony, sent out to serve for a term of years, after which they were to be free. Among them was at least one felon, sent out in 1618. In the early days, industrial and commercial and household wealth had not accumulated sufficiently to warrant employing many servants. In 1619, "twenty Negars" were bought by the colony (not by indi-

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viduals) of a Dutch slaver, that called at Jamestown by accident. There is, indeed, good authority to believe that only fourteen were bought. In 1624, there were but twenty-two Negroes in the colony. But by 1649 there were three hundred, and in 1670 two thousand. In the former year, there were fifteen thousand whites, twice as many as all the Indians of the region in the time of John Smith; in the latter year, the whites had grown to forty thousand. The Negroes were evidently an inconsiderable part of the population, chiefly employed upon the larger tobacco plantations. Had they been badly treated, or had they been morally outraged by their condition in that time of free land everywhere, most of them would have run away. Sometimes they did run away to join the Indians, as did also some white bond-servants. The red men enslaved neither the blacks nor the whites, but killed some and adopted most of them.

The servitude of the blacks in America three hundred years ago ought to cause no surprise. It is true that such servitude secured no foothold in France or in England, but there was an economic cause in those countries. Both France and England, in that age of popular ignorance, were overburdened with ignorant, unskilled, out-of-work natives. There was no demand for any cheap labor. In fact, native wage-labor was cheaper than imported slave-labor. Negro slavery began with the Portuguese about the middle of the fifteenth century. Then the French, and later the Dutch and the English, took up the slave trade, as we shall see. Negro slavery was taken as a matter of course in Virginia in 1619.

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Until that time, most laboring men and women were glad to get shelter, food, and clothing for their labor; the slave and the bond-servant had as much, while the Jamestown settlers in 1607 were promised no more.

The Cause of Slavery

All of us, who are tender-hearted, fair-minded Americans of the United States of the twentieth century, need occasionally to be reminded that slavery was necessary at certain stages of human progress, and that it marked a distinct advance in the valuation of human life. It is not requisite to state the argument in full; a few facts suggest its main lines. In a primitive society, in which all persons work, there can be no leisure for culture. It is contrary to human nature to prefer hard and dirty work. The first privilege of the strong is release from disagreeable tasks. To get that work done there must be some compulsion. In the ancient civilizations, that compulsion was by captivity under military force and by fear of starvation. In all civilizations until 1500, most men have been slaves in some form—slaves to the persons of masters, helots to the state, or serfs to the land. In our modern wage-service civilizations, hard and dirty work is done only by those able to reap greater rewards from hard than from easy tasks, or else too ignorant to earn the rewards of easy and clean work, and thereby to escape the starvation of themselves and of those dear to them. Poverty is the despot that drives men to toil. Such is still the inexorable social law, whether it is a law of freedom in man's "state of nature" or not. Again, in all ancient times the victors in war had but two courses to pur-

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sue toward the vanquished: to kill, or to enslave them; to annihilate, or to subjugate them. At first, in the earlier stages of human culture, the victors employed the sword; later, they employed the lash. Why? Solely because they had found a use for the labors of the captive as a slave. Human life in itself had at first no value to any person other than the individual himself: it began to have value only when civil societies became sufficiently complicated to be able to utilize more workers than those born in the nation. Our own United States illustrates this principle clearly; it is the cause of our continued admission of European immigrants. These immigrants now are, and always have been, mostly from those classes which, until 1500, were enslaved.

We are wont to call the Southern society from 1820 to 1861 typically feudal. This is correct. That feudalism which disappeared in England in the Wars of the Roses, and in the nations of the Continent in the wars with the Ottoman Turks, with the Moors, and between the European peoples themselves, was carried over to America by the people of Spain, who enslaved the Indians; and by the peoples of Holland, Portugal, France, and England, who stole the African Negroes and carried them to the markets of the West Indies, of Turkey, and of the English colonies. We are apt to say that gunpowder and the printing-press destroyed in Europe whatever of feudalism the central monarchy had left; and so they did. Again, in 1861–65, they served the same purpose in the United States.

In the *annus mirabilis*, 1621, when the new Constitution came, a second interesting event occurred

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in Virginia, the deliberate importation of young women as wives. These women, carefully selected, came out to Virginia, and, at the price of one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco each, were eagerly courted, purchased, and wedded by the colonial bachelors. These ninety young ladies gave entire satisfaction to their husbands, and many of them wrote to their friends in England, advising them of the advantages of the New World. In succeeding years, in all, several hundred came to America, where they lived the most exemplary and useful lives. Their quality may be inferred from the fact that, in one group, two women, who did not conduct themselves in accordance with the severe Teutonic code of female chastity were promptly deported, a course in singular and instructive contrast with that usually pursued elsewhere in the New World. There is, indeed, every evidence that these imported wives belonged to the middle class of the English people, and in part at least to the same groups that, under the influence of religious enthusiasm, were then peopling Massachusetts. At any rate, we are assured by all the facts of early colonial history that this artificial method of creating homes and families in Virginia gave to that colony its first and greatest advantage over all other colonies, for it long remained the most populous and prosperous of European settlements in America.

A Necessary and Popular Measure

In this matter of women in early Virginia, we have no accurate knowledge based upon statistical records. We learn that the Germans and Poles, imported as glass-makers by the Company in 1613, were offered brides by the Indians as inducements

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to desert, and that they promptly deserted. We know also that very few Englishmen married Indian girls or took them as mistresses or concubines. We know also that, in 1616, there were at least seventy-five Englishwomen in America. Lastly, we know that every true Virginian of that day loved Sir Edwin Sandys of the London Company because of the excellent character of the maidens that he sent out to make homes for homeless men. All of this testifies eloquently to the interesting nature of early Virginian life in the Chesapeake bay region, and to the high average quality of the frequently objurgated colonials. Undoubtedly this wholesale method of home-making, had it been pursued elsewhere,—especially had it been pursued in New Amsterdam and in New Plymouth,—would have greatly benefited our early pioneer society. The white man, like the red man, does well to leave to women the management of the domestic affairs. In the history of all colonies, prosperity begins when the men take upon themselves the support of women of their own race. Earliest Virginia proved that most men are unable to work hard for even the common things of life before they see the need of them in the lives of their own wives and children.

In this same year, 1621, a new governor arrived, Sir Francis Wyatt, who succeeded Sir George Yeardley. Next year, befell the bitter Indian massacre, of which more is told elsewhere. In 1624, the King secured the annulment of the Virginia Company's charter on the amazing argument that it was contrary to public policy, for the Company was allowed to transport

End of the Virginia Company

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his Majesty's subjects, and might, if it chose, depopulate his realm. This "stuff and nonsense" served the King's purpose, which was to get rid of a Company with a thousand stockholders. Often half of them attended the quarterly meetings to discuss the political affairs of the colony. This set a bad example to a nation that James proposed to rule by "divine right." At the suggestion of the Spanish Ambassador, he had called Parliament but once in seven years, while here was the Virginia Company, meeting every three months! Veritably, he must close this "seminary of sedition." Destroying the democratic Virginia Company accomplished in America the very thing James did not wish: it gave the colonists a greater measure of self-government than they had enjoyed before.

A Royal Colony

In 1625, Charles I. came to the throne, in some ways a better man than his father. We need no longer follow the procession of the royal governors. The colony has grown too strong to make their personalities necessarily important, and is constantly disputing with these new royal appointees. By 1648 the people are exporting a million and a half pounds of tobacco, whose culture Rolfe had learned from the old Powhatan himself, over thirty years before.

In the Time of the Commonwealth

It is instructive that the Puritan Commonwealth saw fit to send commissioners to reduce Virginia to subjection, but no fighting was necessary. The colony had received many Cavalier emigrants during the long Civil War; some, indeed, were sent out against their will by the Puritan Commonwealth. And the colony

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also had made both Catholics and Puritans uncomfortable within its borders. To a degree, it was bigotedly Anglican Episcopal, because it was loyal to the Throne. It was also outwardly obedient to the Commonwealth; though it would have fought the Puritan republic, had it been strong enough. In the year 1652, the governor was Richard Bennett, Puritan Roundhead, who came to the office by popular election. Such was the echo in Virginia of the fall of Charles I. in 1650. In truth, the Virginians cared very little about the change as long as the final authority over the laws was vested in their own General Assembly. The change in England was, in one respect, gratifying; it gave them an opportunity to select their own governor. They elected new governors again and again, until in 1660 they secured, by their own choice, their old favorite, Berkeley.

It concerns those who are interested in the process of colonial government to note that, until 1634, the burgesses represented boroughs consisting of separate plantations and hundreds; from then to 1643 they represented shires; after that they represented counties, of which, in 1652, there were thirteen. The presence of "mercenarie attorneys" in the colony at this period shows the wealth and the litigious spirit of these early Virginians. The laws against the lawyers are what one would expect of an Assembly made up of country planters: farmers seldom love lawyers, though none are quicker to employ them.

The Commonwealth period was, indeed, a very happy time for the Virginians, however much they may have grumbled. Cromwell, the great Protector,

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the only person England ever produced greater as a ruler than Elizabeth Tudor, gave no thought to Virginia, for he was absorbed in the business of turning and overturning most affairs of Church and State in England, and of making the nation the champion of political Protestantism in Europe. In this period, the navigation laws were entirely ignored, and English colonial planters traded as and where they would, much to their own personal happiness and financial profit.

In this rapid account, we have passed by all of the troubles of Virginia with Maryland. Virginia was Cavalier and Episcopal; Maryland was generally Roman Catholic, with a vigorous and often a violent Puritan minority. Some of the most ardent souls in Virginia desired to control Maryland, even to annex the colony. Civil war followed, whose final issue depended much upon the success of the Puritan Commonwealth.

The Restoration

In 1658, Oliver Cromwell, the grim soldier-statesman, who with sword and fire and dogma had sought Utopia, died, worn out with battle and struggle; and political Puritanism, also worn out, died with the great Protector. In 1660, the "King came to his own again,"—the King, Charles II., who was to do so many good things because he remembered the fate of his father and because he feared that, to avoid the same fate in a new crisis, he might be forced to "set out upon his travels again." Thus chastened by experience, the second Charles Stuart was to illustrate once more in history the fact that an essentially bad man—bad alike in public and in private morals

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—may make a very good ruler. This is to say, that he is a good king whose people improve in freedom, intelligence, morals, wealth, happiness. By this standard, the subjects of Charles II., a grossly evil man, but shrewd and tactful and compliant to the popular will, proved him a good king. As we shall see in the course of this narrative, the coming of Charles to the throne was a fortunate event in the development of the English colonies in America.

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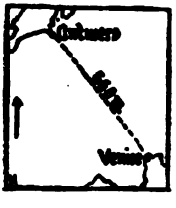
CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW NETHERLANDS

1609–1617

THE Netherlands or "Low Countries" had come to Charles V., as his richest possession, by inheritance from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, in 1506, when he was but six years old. They had then three millions of the most industrious people, with three hundred walled cities. A belt of great fortresses protected all the land, which was picturesque with dykes and canals, with windmills, with the villas of nobles and of merchant princes, and with many church and cathedral spires. As the home of art, the Netherlands were surpassed only by Italy. Antwerp was already as great as Venice; twenty-five hundred ships were often moored at a time in the river Scheldt. The chief cities had won their freedom from the feudal lords by the sword, or had bought it with gold, and had constituted themselves almost independent, separate republics. Self-governing themselves, they sent representatives to the assembly of the States-General. Ghent, Bruges, Haarlem, Delft,

The Netherlands



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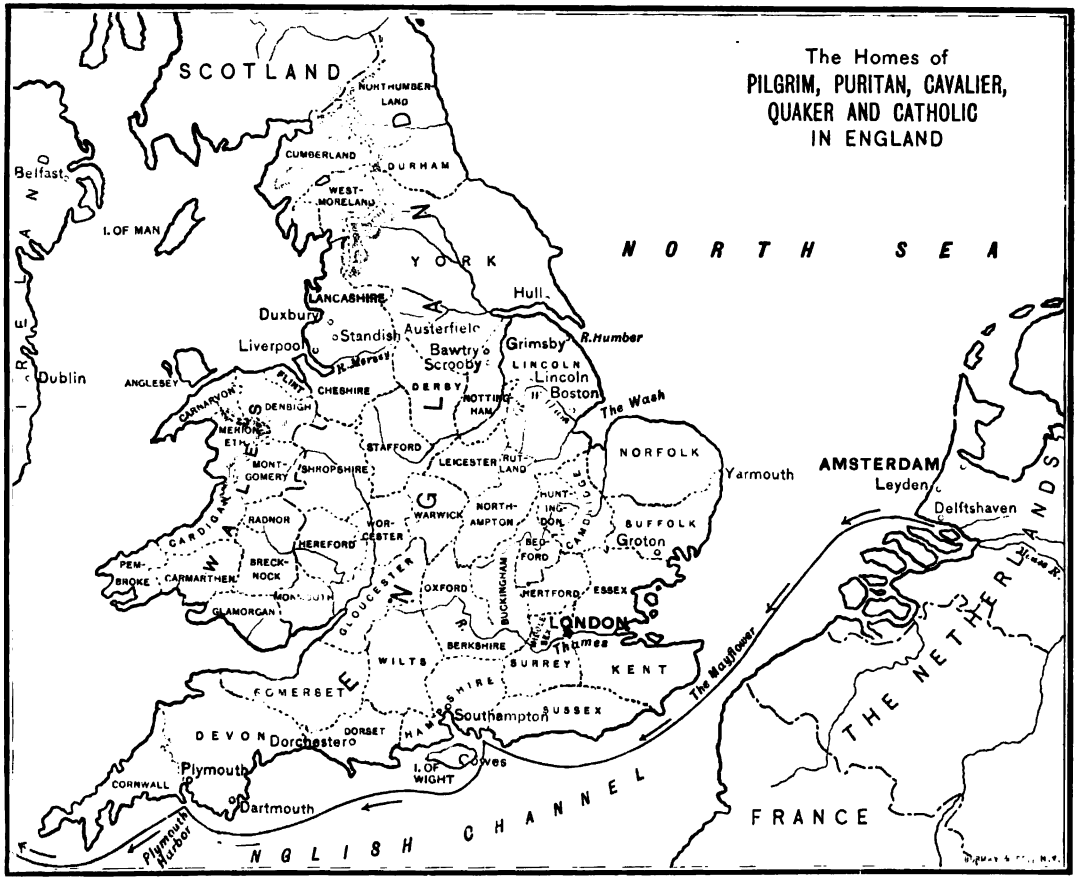
The Homes of
PILGRIM, PURITAN, CAVALIER,
QUAKER AND CATHOLIC
IN ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Belfast
Dublin
I. OF MAN
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WESTMORELAND
YORK
LANCASHIRE
Duxbury
Liverpool
Standish
Austerfield
Bawtry
Scrooby
Grimsby
R. Humber
Hull
LINCOLN
Lincoln
Boston
The Wash
ANGLESEY
CARNARVON
DENBIGH
FLINT
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
MERIONETH
STAFFORD
MONTGOMERY
SHROPSHIRE
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORFOLK
Yarmouth
AMSTERDAM
Leyden
Delftshaven
RADNOR
HEREFORD
WORCESTER
WARWICK
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGDON
CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK
Groton
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
BRECKNOCK
BEDFORD
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
ESSEX
GLAMORGAN
GLOUCESTER
LONDON
River Thames
BERKSHIRE
WILTS
SURREY
KENT
The Mayflower
SOMERSET
HAMPSHIRE
Southampton
SUSSEX
DEVON
DORSET
Dorchester
Plymouth
Cowes
I. OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
Dartmouth
Plymouth Harbour
ENGLISH CHANNEL
THE NETHERLANDS
FRANCE

Leyden, Amsterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, and Rotterdam had succeeded to the wealth of the Hanse cities of Germany, and were rivals of the great manufacturing and trading cities of France and Italy.

In 1540, Charles V. fell upon Ghent and destroyed its liberties, because the city would not pay to him the subsidy demanded. Later, he set in operation the Inquisition, to extirpate heresy and heretics. In 1555, he abdicated in favor of his son Philip, who spent the next four years in persecuting the Protestants of the Low Countries. After his departure for Spain, his sister Margaret, as regent, continued the work of horror. In Spain, the Inquisition created terror and made converts; but in the Netherlands it created hatred and made heretics. There it also made patriots, who sought independence for their nation. Great Protestant and patriot mobs gathered and swept the images of the saints out of the churches and sacked the monasteries, burning their libraries, and driving the monks into the streets. In their iconoclastic rage, they destroyed invaluable art treasures. When Philip heard of this awful sacrilege, he tore his beard and swore, "By the soul of my father, it shall cost them dear!" He sent an army under the great Duke of Alva, and before that fearful human hurricane, William the Silent, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau, fled into Germany. The details of the struggle that followed do not concern American history; but the fact itself, the outcome and its causes, do concern us vitally.

In 1579, there was formed the Union of Utrecht, consisting of Holland, Zeeland, and other provinces; in 1581, was issued the Dutch Declaration of

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Independence, in itself a revolution. It began, "Whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince . . . but rather the prince for the sake of his subjects . . .": such words were enough to confound the mind and to inflame the soul of Philip, the plotter in the Escorial. Since, with his armies, he could not seize William, the stadtholder of the United Provinces, he would slay the Protestant leader by the dagger of an assassin; and so he did in 1584. The Dutch patriots, crazed with anger, put Gerard to death with torture, but Philip made his heirs rich and elevated them to the rank of Spanish grandees. Yet the sea-power of the Dutch was destined to win, even without the guidance of their "Father William"; and England sent to the assistance of the Netherlands money and soldiers. In 1586, the gallant Englishman, Philip Sidney, fell at Zutphen, when fighting for the Dutch Protestant cause. France, also, was willing to lend assistance. To crush the rising opposition, Philip sent northward the Armada, in a great crescent of ships, seven miles between the horns, with what result we shall remember. In the year of Philip's death, 1598, peace was made between Spain and France; and in the year 1604, after Elizabeth's death, peace was made between Spain and England. Henry IV. of France,—"Henry of Navarre,"—in 1609, the year before his assassination by the Catholic fanatic, Ravaillac, brought to pass the "Truce" between the Netherlands and Philip III., that established a temporary peace throughout Christendom. Not until 1648, the close of the Thirty Years' War, did Spain formally

The Dutch Declaration of Independence

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acknowledge Dutch independence. This independence did not include the "Spanish Netherlands,"—Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Brabant, Luxemburg, and Limburg,—but only Zeeland, Holland, Gelderland, and the other less populous Dutch Provinces west and north.

In the year 1609, the Low Countries presented instructive conditions: the "rebel" North had grown richer and greater, while the "loyal" South was ruined and depopulated. Never in history was the great teaching more clearly exemplified, "Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Patriotism and toleration had paid. The independent Provinces of the Protestant North had secured the trade of all the seas, and had taken many colonies from Portugal, then subject to the Crown of Spain. A thousand ships were engaged in the Dutch herring

Dutch Prosperity

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fisheries. An illiterate population in the course of a single generation had learned to read and to write. Schools and colleges flourished, and the printing-press was ceaselessly at work. In the technical sciences, Dutch scholars made great advances. The successful maintenance of Protestantism in the Netherlands marked a crisis in human history whose results many times, and in many ways direct and indirect, vitally influenced American history. Had Spain rooted out heresy by completely subjugating the rebellious subjects of her king,—they were subjects only because in feudal days peoples were but hereditary appendages of great Houses,—neither New Amsterdam nor Plymouth would have been founded as they were, nor would William III. have sat upon the throne of England, the first thoroughly constitutional sovereign in all the centuries of her history.

Conditions of the Struggle

It concerns us, therefore, to see why the Dutch won their national independence and their personal freedom. There were many causes at work. The Spaniards were an alien people, belonging wholly to the Mediterranean branch of the white race. Their character had been formed in the presence of, and largely in antagonism to, the Moors, a people with whom the Dutch had no acquaintance. The qualities of the Spaniards have already been discussed in this narrative. The Dutch were almost purely Teutonic; the unimportant minor element in their blood was Alpine (Celtic). The Spaniards were landsmen, while the Dutch were, many of them, seamen by good right of Norse blood. The Spaniards were a military people, with no genius for government or for practical affairs, while the

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Dutch were industrial and commercial, with a decided genius for self-government and for all manner of practical affairs. Spain was so far away from the Netherlands that it cost her great sums of money to send her armies thither, and to maintain them there in effective fighting condition. Her revenues from the Netherlands ceased, while those from the East and West Indies were steadily dwindling, so that she could not afford sufficiently great costs. The contest was, indeed, more equal than it appeared. Spanish cruelty was matched by Dutch fortitude; the wealth of the West Indies and of New Spain, by the wealth of India and the East Indies; intolerance that alienated political allies, by tolerance that won them: armies, by navies; tramping soldiers, by the flooding seas: Alva, Don John, Farnese, Spinola, with priests and the rack, by William and his sons, with scholars and the book; and the past of the South by the future of the North. As the event proved, force ruled by sincere superstition was overmatched by fortitude guided by equally sincere reason.

Hudson and the Dutch

Through all this bloody conflict between Philip and his rebellious subjects, the ships of honest Dutch traders, as well as of piratical Dutch corsairs, were sailing the seven seas; and by 1608, the merchants at home in Holland had learned of the Virginia plantation and of Smith's exploits. When Henry Hudson received the letter of John Smith regarding America, he had but recently completed a disappointing voyage in the employ of his English compatriots in search of the Northeast Passage. Naturally he turned to the

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Dutch people, equally famous with the English for adventures upon the sea. In 1581, an English captain, Beets, had proposed to the Dutch a similar enterprise. English soldiers had fought in the Netherlands, and Elizabeth had been the friend of their people. Friesland had been an old home of the Angles. There were many connections between Holland and England. The Flemings were now large buyers of English wool. True it was that they, a people of a different race from the Hollanders, Celts (Alpine), not Teutons, still acknowledged their dependence upon Spain, but the manufactured woolen goods of Flanders and the Spanish Netherlands found their sale in the free Northern Provinces. Hudson saw nothing better to do than to offer his services to the Dutch East India Company. His was by no means the first voyage under Dutch auspices to America. The Dutch claim that their ships entered the North and the South rivers (Hudson and Delaware) in 1598: the claim is not supported by documents, but the Dutch have few cases of lying to discredit them as historians. Certainly in 1607, their ships were in Canadian waters, where they traded for furs.

The voyage of Hudson in 1609, the year that Smith left Virginia, took him to Newfoundland (where he caught more codfish than he had salt enough to cure), to Penobscot bay, to Cape Cod, and thence to Chesapeake and Delaware bays. September 3, his ninety-ton yacht, the *Half Moon*, was in the bay below the great North river of New Netherland; in these waters he spent a month, vainly going to the end of tide-water in search of the passage to

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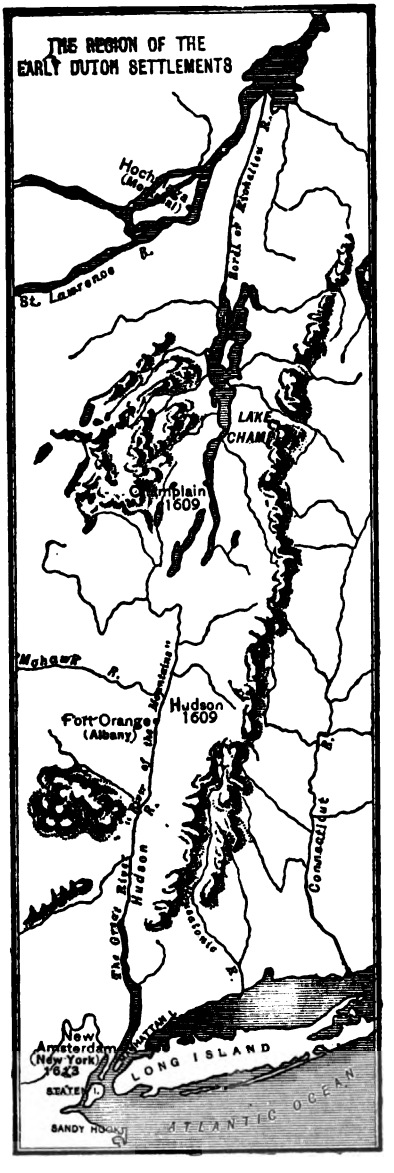
Asia. Like most of the men who, in early years, explored the coast region from Buzzard's bay to Key West, Hudson was delighted with this land; he called it "as beautiful a land as the foot of man can tread upon." At first, he was wary of the Indians, but further experience taught him that they were "a very loving people." No little light is thrown upon the value of women among the Indians by the fact that one of the bands met by Hudson had forty men and but seventeen women. His last experience with the Indians of the "River of the Mountains" was an attack by several hundred warriors, who were dispersed by a few gun- and cannon-shots with some loss of life among them. On his return voyage, Hudson stopped at Dartmouth, where he was detained many months, to be finally forbidden by the English



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Government ever to depart for Holland. In 1610, he went, in the *Discovery*, upon his last and fatal voyage. Cast off, with his son, in a shallop by a mutinous crew in midsummer, 1611 (for there were many mutinous crews in those days, when ocean shipping was half merchant, half pirate), death came to him and to his son in the immense, sullen, and awful bay that bears his name as a perpetual memorial to a brave and energetic life. Meantime, the voyage of Hudson to the "Great River" had already borne fruit among the Dutch, some of whom as private merchants hired the old crew of the English sailor, and in 1610 sent them in a new vessel to trade with the Indians. In 1611, other ships went out. By 1613, a little fleet was regularly trading in the river Mauritius, as the river was now called in honor of Stadtholder Maurice, William's second son, then in power. The trade in furs was at once very profitable.

Dutch Superiority

All this activity aroused the greatest interest among the business men of England and of Holland, and also among the men in government circles. When the Dutch proposed joint-trading with the English in both the East and the West Indies, Winwood, English ambassador at The Hague, received these instructions: ". . . we fear that in case of joining, if it be upon equal terms, the art and the industry of their people will wear out ours." This was a well-grounded fear; for in the commerce of the seas and in the industries of the land the Dutch, in 1610–11, clearly surpassed the English, although their land was but the morass of the silt of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, thrust into and under the

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sea by Nature, but protected below tide-level by dykes, and made into a garden by the labor of men. The Dutch Admiral Heemskerk had won, in 1607, at Gibraltar, a victory over the Spanish that recalled the great victories of England. Their Reverend Peter Plancius was a trumpet-voice of maritime enterprise, worthy to be compared with the Reverend Richard Hakluyt of England. Their Barneveld, a statesman; their Grotius, a jurist and scholar; their Harmensen, a theologian; and their Stadtholder Maurice, a soldier and a ruler, were men to whom England, in the decades from 1600–20, could not present equals. That England finally did surpass Holland is due not to the superior moral, intellectual, and physical qualities of her people, but to her island isolation from the storm of the Thirty Years' War, and to her greater size. Holland taught England political freedom and religious toleration. Her teaching was the force that unthroned Charles I. and broke up the tyrannical and intolerant Puritanism of the Commonwealth.

The Dutch Claim

Immediately after Henry Hudson's visit to New York bay (a visit that amounted to a rediscovery, for Verrazano's visit was in 1524, and there was none between), a dispute arose as to whether the United Provinces could in fairness claim the region. To that claim there were three objections. The first was that, nominally, Spain was still the suzerain of the Provinces. It was urged, therefore, that as a subject state the Provinces could not take title. The second was the counter-claim, that the land belonged to England by right of the discovery of North America by John

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Cabot. The third objection was that the land belonged to Spain by virtue of the Papal Line of Demarcation. It was true that the agreement of peace between Spain and the Provinces was not a treaty, but a truce for twelve years. However, England was debarred from setting up this as a defence, because King James had already acknowledged the ambassador of the States-General as representing "a free country and state," and had accredited an English ambassador to the States. As for the second objection, the Elizabethan theory was that discovery and occupation gave title, and that discovery without occupation was insufficient to establish sovereignty. The third objection was futile. Might made right in the seventeenth century. English sea-power took and kept Virginia. Dutch sea-power was destined to take and to hold New Netherland for half a century.

The first continuous occupation by the Dutch of any part of the region given to them by Hudson was in the winter of 1613–14, when Adrian Block, the sea-captain whose ship had been accidentally burned there, wore away several months, building a new ship from the excellent ship-timber trees then abundant upon Manhattan island. He was sustained by the bounty of the Indians, who generously supplied the party with corn and other provisions, saving the Dutch as other tribes had saved the English in Virginia so often. This was the same period in which Argall, sea-captain of the Virginia colony, by order of Gates, made his ruthless and causeless raids upon the French settlements in Canada,—raids entirely outside the purview of the patent granted by

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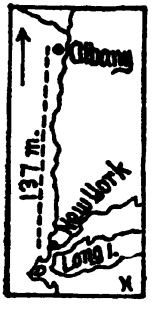
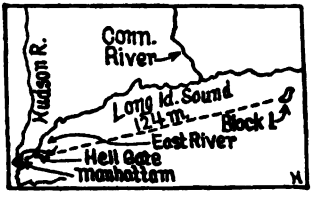
James in 1609, which excepted lands "possessed by any other Christian prince or people," even though below the latitude of forty-five degrees north, and far above the northern limit of the second patent, which was two hundred miles north of Point Comfort. Over against this English brutality must be set Dutch humanity, for at this very time Dale was serving the Virginia plantation on a leave of absence from the Dutch States-General, but in their continued pay. All through this period, Hendrick Christiaensen was making constant voyages between Manhattan and Holland, to the enrichment of his employers. Near Albany, Fort Nassau, so named in honor of Maurice, Prince of Nassau and of Orange, was built by Christiaensen in 1614. It was a combination warehouse, fort, and palisaded stockade. In this same year, 1614, Block, in the little boat that he had built, passed through the East river and Hell Gate into Long Island Sound. He was the first white man to see and to explore the Connecticut river, and the first to explore Narragansett bay. Block Island, named for Block, was first seen by Verrazano ninety years before. In that same year, 1614, the States-General, assembled at The Hague in the magnificent Binnehof, inner court of the palace of the Counts of Holland, rivaling Westminster, granted the charter of New Netherland to the Amsterdam Company.





In 1614, John Smith was charting the coast of New

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England, a name authorized by that Henry, Prince of Wales, who, had he lived, would doubtless have been so good a king that no Cromwell would have been needed. For fifty years to come, the names of New England and of New Netherland were to arouse an angry, though not very sanguinary, controversy. They covered regions between the same latitudes, forty to forty-five degrees north, but their stretches in longitude were ill-defined. It must be noted that the Dutch charter of 1614 was a charter for a monopoly of trade only and not for colonization and government also, as was the English charter of 1606. This narrow limitation of the enterprise to a factory or factories rather than to a plantation and factory, with farming hundreds added, saved New Amsterdam from all the horrors of Jamestown. The English attempted so much that, of their first six thousand settlers exported, nearly four fifths died by starvation, epidemic disease, and Indian attack, or, discouraged, returned home when they could secure permission. Sir Thomas Dale, the monster, as he seemed to most of the settlers in that Virginia prison-plantation, set the people to growing sassafras for profit, when they needed corn and potatoes for food. The Dutch lost very few settlers from such untoward causes.

In 1616, the Dutch sent out two parties, which had interesting adventures. A party of three traders went southwest from Fort Nassau to the headwaters of the Delaware, where they were taken prisoners by the Minqua Indians. The other, in the fine little yacht *Unrest*, which Block had built in the winter of 1613–14, went up the

Treaty of Tawasentha

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Delaware river and rescued the three traders, paying a ransom of kettles, beads, and other similarly acceptable articles. In the trading that followed, they secured seal and sable skins, brought south from Canada along the Indian trails. These were the first explorations by white men in Delaware and Pennsylvania; though, probably, David Ingram had passed through the region in 1568. In 1617, Fort Nassau, located upon an island in the Hudson river, was so badly wrecked by a freshet that it was abandoned. A new trading post was established near by at Norman's Kill, named by the Indians "Tawasentha" ("the place of the many dead"). It was near the end of the Mohawks' portage path, which ran through Schenectady.

At this spot, two miles below the present site of Albany, was concluded in that year a memorable treaty with the Indians. Here were gathered representatives of the Mohawks and of the other Iroquois tribes, of the Mohegans, of the Lenapé, and of various other tribes. The red men and the white solemnly held the peace-belt in token of union; they smoked the calumet-pipe of tobacco, gravely passing it about the magic circle in token of peace; and they buried a tomahawk. The Dutch promised to build a church over the place of burial, so that the tomahawk might never be dug up. The church was never built; and the tomahawk, figuratively, was dug up several times, but never for long and never at terrible loss of life. In 1645, the treaty was renewed, to continue in force till 1664. Then a new league was formed and kept until 1775, when the Indians took

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the war-path for the English oversea against the resident white colonists.

The treaty of Tawasentha was memorable, because it marked the antagonism of the Iroquois to the French, who, with Champlain as leader and with the Hurons as allies, had fought them in 1610. It marked also the hegemony of the Iroquois among all the Indian tribes, from the Connecticut to the Miami, and from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac. The "long house" of the Iroquois extended from Lake Champlain, named by its discoverer for himself in 1610, to Lake Erie; against this "long house," as against a fortress, the forces of New France swept once and again without avail. The arquebus of Champlain that, loaded with four balls, in a single discharge killed one chief and wounded another chief and a brave, cost France the waterway of the Hudson to the south and the ocean. Had France secured the valleys of both the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, probably the region of New England and New York would to-day be French in language, as is eastern Canada, and might also be French in political dependence. The echo of that gunshot in the Great North Woods was heard a century and a half later upon the Plains of Abraham above Quebec.

The treaty of Tawasentha was significant as well as memorable. It showed that the Dutch had a genius for peaceful empire. They met the red men as men, and reasoned with them, took them at their word, and recognized in them ideas of justice and of honor. Being men, though separated from the

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Dutch by unnumbered millenniums of a different experience, the Indians responded to the Dutch faith in them.

Of the five peoples of Europe that in large numbers came to America and dealt with the aborigines, the Dutch were the most successful, while the Spanish were the least. The other three were the Portuguese, the French, and the English. We may compare them with reference to the five great institutions of society,—Church, State, School, Family, Business. The Spaniards and the French were zealous proselytizers in religion; the Portuguese were somewhat interested in converting the Indians to European Christianity, and the English less so, while the Dutch were almost entirely indifferent to the religious beliefs of the aborigines. The Spaniards endeavored either to enslave or to exterminate the natives, the French sought to reduce them to servility by the humane method of instruction, the Portuguese fraternized with them, and the English tried to drive them away, while the Dutch treated them as foreign peoples equal with themselves in politics and government.

Relation of Races

The Spaniards and the Portuguese cared little about their own education and still less for that of the aborigines; the French were systematic, and the English spasmodic, in their efforts to instruct and to educate the aborigines, while the Dutch, who desired the Indians to remain hunters, trappers, and fishers, desired them to pursue without change their own methods of education.

In the matter of the family it must be remembered that the women in almost every tribe were greatly

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outnumbered by the men. Savage and semi-savage, barbarous and semi-barbarous life told harder upon the women than upon the men. Child-bearing and rearing were far more fatal to the women than hunting and the war-path were to the men. Mothers of as many as four children were rare. Woman was at a premium in aboriginal America. The Portuguese freely took the aborigines to wife or to husband, as the case might be. Many men of their race became polygamous. The Spaniards killed most of the male aborigines, and many of the female, and took the surviving females as wives, mistresses, and concubines. The French did little murder, but much marrying. Many a French *coureur de bois* had a white wife oversea and a red wife here. To accomplish this marrying without angering the Indian braves who also were seeking wives, the squaw-men accepted adoption into the Indian tribes.

That singular and much-discussed incident, in which Dale figured in connection with the marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, proves how much more seriously the English considered the act of marriage with an Indian than did the other settlers, with whom the occurrence was too common to arouse great interest. When Sir Thomas Dale sent to the Powhatan messengers to ask the hand of Pocahontas for Rolfe, he asked also for himself an Indian princess as a bride. The Powhatan gave Pocahontas to Rolfe, but refused to part with another daughter to Dale, though he was by far the greater man. Why? Certainly not because he knew that there was already a Madam Dale in far-away England. The polygamous Powhatan had no misgivings about a bigamous

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Governor. He gave Pocahontas because she loved Rolfe; he refused a bride to Dale because no maiden cared for him. As for Dale himself, he sent the most elaborate gifts, but he was asking for what no true woman gives on formal request—and that is love. But the Spaniard, the Portuguese, the French, in their own different ways loved the Indian damsels, who also loved them. Many a mixed marriage, many a half-breed family, was equable, happy, and successful.

Portuguese, Spanish, and French miscegenation resulted at once in a greater or less deterioration of the European stock. It is a curious fact that the American peoples that have the blood of three races, —Indian, European, and Negro,—seem superior to the peoples who have the mixed blood of but two races. The triple combination seems to restore the elementary racial equilibrium. These peoples with heredity from three races may be seen in Brazil, the West Indies, and Louisiana. In this all-important matter of family, the English kept their blood pure, because of prejudice against the natives, as did the Dutch because of indifference to the charms of Indian women.

As for occupation, the Spaniards mercilessly set the surviving Indians to work as agricultural or mining slaves. The Portuguese enslaved some aborigines, but hired others for wages. The English avoided them. The French went with them into the woods and fields. The Dutch took in trade the results of their hunting, fishing, and trapping.

All these facts, taken together, bring us to one inevitable conclusion, that the commercial spirit, the

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desire to acquire riches by successful trade, which gets more than it gives, and the Dutch single-mindedness, and, withal, the Dutch tolerance, a matter of a kind and unruffled heart, made an admirable equipment for success in the New World. By all these considerations, that Dutch-Iroquois council-fire by the Hudson in 1617, which concluded the treaty of Tawasentha, is made significant and memorable.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE DUTCH PEOPLE IN THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

1617–1664

The Separatists in Holland

In the early period of the history of New Amsterdam, there was occurring in the home country a negotiation whose outcome was of the first importance in American history. Only a single phase of the great matter need be considered here. In 1608, a company of English people had sought and found religious freedom in the Netherlands. They listened seriously to the tales of the plantation and the factory at the mouth of the Hudson; and they carefully examined the conditions of the Virginia charter with its proposed First and Second Companies, popularly known as the London and the Plymouth Companies. By general report in the Netherlands, they had heard much of the conditions of life in New Netherland.

It is commonly said by historians that the English Separatist-Puritans who had fled to Holland left Leyden for America because they did not wish to bring up their children among the Dutch. For this view, there is but little warrant. If that had been their chief reason for emigrating, certainly Pastor

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Robinson would not have applied for permission to move, with four hundred families, to the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam. Hurt in their pride because this permission was refused, some alleged that they had always preferred to locate in isolation in the New World, in order that they might develop their own religious life apart in their own way. As their own application proved, they really would have preferred to live in the New World under the protection of the Dutch sea-power and among the tolerant and hospitable Dutch colonial people. Their High Mightinesses, the delegates in the States-General of the United Provinces, were unwilling to imperil the success of New Netherland by sending thither these English refugees. It was one thing to permit them to live safe behind the dykes of Holland, but it was another to guarantee their safety three thousand miles away. The war that was to last thirty years had begun in Germany; and the Dutch statesmen foresaw that the protection of English refugees in New Netherland might increase the international complications. Further, some of them feared, as they said, that in the event of any difficulty with England, these Englishmen might assist the mother-country. There was a shrewd suspicion, cherished by many of the amiable Dutch, that the English Puritans might, by their religious zeal, interfere with the peaceful prosecution of colonial business, and by their numbers greatly influence, possibly dominate, the development of New Netherland. The Puritan application failed, though it was supported by a memorial of the Amsterdam merchants whose ships traversed the ocean. Certain it is, however, that

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the English would gladly have changed their allegiance from King and Parliament and England to Stadtholder, States-General, and the United Provinces. This would not have been for the good of New Amsterdam. The poor but worthy English people were by no means fitted to prosecute the fur trade with the Indians. And it was for the good of the New World that the qualities of the Puritans, needed for the inspiration and the organization of the people and the nation yet to be, were developed in isolation in New England.

The Dutch West India Company

In 1621, the work of organizing the Dutch West India Company definitely began, and its charter was issued. It was formed in the main upon the lines of the Dutch East India Company, which was first talked of in 1595, and was organized as a monopoly in 1602. Its twenty-one members saw in unrestrained competition a limitation of their possible wealth and power as a group of traders, the crushing out of the weaker adventurers, and the lessening of the profits of all. These are the reasons that in all ages have led to the combination of enterprising rivals into great single companies, of which the modern "trust" is a conspicuous example. This East India Company, antedating the English East India Company by but five years in its inception, and postdating it in its incorporation two years, had the exclusive right, from the Provincial States, to trade in all the seas that lie eastward from the Cape of Good Hope, nearly all the way around the world, to the Straits of Magellan. The great Company was authorized to conquer lands and peoples, to plant and to maintain

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colonies, and to establish government. The charter was a Dutch commission to go forth into the world beyond the Atlantic and to possess it. The capital was six million six hundred thousand livres,— of coin value in modern money over one and a half million dollars, of purchasing value at least eight million dollars, and possessing an influence in the business world beyond any twenty- or fifty-million-dollar corporation to-day. Without regard to its political and military powers, we may indeed call the Dutch East India Company a vast enterprise. Its net profit in the year 1606 was seventy-five per cent. of its capital. This rate, large though it was, did not equal the rate of many single traders, but was phenomenal for so wide-reaching a business venture.

Already Willem Usselinx, who knew the West India trade well, had urged the organization of a monopoly for the Atlantic trade. He put forward three great considerations: systematic opposition to Spain, the profits of trade, and the conversion of the Indians. On these lines, the proposition failed. The explorations of Mey, for whom the famous cape and watering-place are named, in 1620 renewed the discussion, from which, in 1621, the incorporation of the West India Company followed. Two years later the Company vigorously entered upon its undertakings. Its powers were very great. Such was its monopoly that no private ships could go into or out of the ports of New Netherland for trade. It had powers of peace and war, of government, of justice, of trading, and of colonization. It was a public corporation acting under the authority of the High Mighty Lords of the States-General. Its executive

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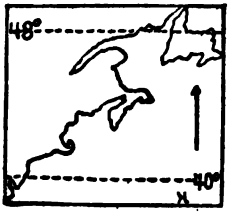
authority was entrusted to a board of nineteen delegates, called the "College of the XIX." The States-General contributed sixteen ships of war of three hundred tons each, four yachts, and a million guilders—a purchasing value of two million dollars. Virtually the Company was to hold, for the Dutch, as much of Africa and of the Americas as it had power to take, and the profits were to go to the stockholders.

Conflicting Claims

In 1620, King James had issued the New England patent, granting to the Council of New England at Plymouth (the reorganized Second Company of the Virginia charter), all the territory from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree, and an absolute monopoly of trade and of colonization therein. This New England patent made immediate trouble for James himself. Parliament, in 1621, enumerated it as the first of the public grievances of the kingdom against the king, because it gave too great powers to the Council, and because Parliament had not been consulted regarding it. France protested, since the grant included a portion of Canada. The Plymouth Council itself immediately took proceedings against the Dutch as "interlopers" between Plymouth and Jamestown, that is, New England and Virginia.



The question as to whether or not the Dutch had a right to the Hudson river region is academic now, as it was then; but it is interesting. Said Queen Elizabeth in 1580, "Proscription without possession

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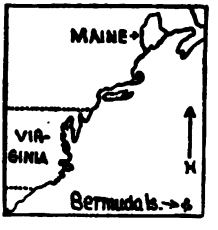
is of no avail." If so, the claim to New Netherland, by reason of the Cabots, was certainly void. As a matter of fact, they certainly never saw any considerable part of the New England coast, and probably never passed south of Cape Breton. The claim of France to New Netherland was really better than that of England, for Verrazano saw New York bay, and there is some reason to believe that he sailed up the Hudson river. In 1620, England had a right, by occupation, to the Bermudas, to Virginia, and to Maine, which had been temporarily settled in 1607, but to no other land in America. She had a certain air of right to New England, by reason of the voyages of Gosnold, Smith, and Dermer. Only the Thirty Years' War and the share of the Dutch in it prevented a very serious collision in America, because of these conflicting claims.



In this period, occurred a negotiation singularly like that of the Puritan Separatists. The Walloons of Belgium, who had migrated by thousands to the northern provinces of the Netherlands to escape the persecutions of the Spaniards during the times of Alva and Earnese, were an industrious people, living as farmers and artisans. They spoke an ancient French language, and had lived in the hill-country. They were of the middle European race, the Alpine-Celtic. Broad of head and short and stout of body, they had the patient endurance developed by races that dwell for many generations upon mountains and plateaus. In the center of Europe, their race was nourished un-

The Walloons

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tenderly. Some of these brave, obstinate, hardy people, in many respects unlike the mainly Teutonic Dutch, desired to emigrate to Virginia, but their petition was not granted with satisfactory terms. The Dutch West India Company offered to take them out to New Netherland. Eighteen families of new settlers, many of them Walloons, were taken to the new Fort Orange in 1623, and settled upon a site now occupied by the business portion of the city of Albany. At the same season, smaller settlements were made upon the North river, the East river, the South river, and the Fresh river. The last two rivers are now called the Delaware and the Connecticut. This was the first serious effort to colonize New Amsterdam. The new settlers spoke two languages, Dutch and Walloon. In 1623, old Amsterdam, of which the new region beyond the ocean was made a special dependency, was decidedly polyglot. She was now beginning to create New Amsterdam that was destined to become perhaps the most cosmopolitan city in the world. At this time, when all was peace and prosperity in tide-water New Netherland, the English settlers were trying to exterminate the natives in tide-water Virginia.

In 1625, there were in the Dutch colony some two hundred settlers; in the English colony to the south there were a dozen times as many. In that year, the historian De Laet, a director of the Dutch West India Company, published a fine volume, entitled *The New World, or a Description of the West Indies.* Another director, Hulft, sent out three shiploads of horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, and an abundance of agricultural implements. So admirable and complete

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were all the appointments of these ships that but two cows died upon the passage. Unfortunately, soon after their arrival, a score of the cows were poisoned by the wild herbage of Manhattan island. But the enterprise, on the whole, was a great success. The Dutch were going "slow but sure." The American Rome was not to be built in a day. Providence saw fit to select the most substantial people in Europe to lay the foundations of the city that, upon one of the finest sites in the world, was destined to become the New World cosmopolis. In that year, Cornelius Jacobsen Mey, ship-captain and first director of the province, who had performed great services in the extension of the Dutch interests, returned to Holland.

This same fateful year, 1625, saw the death of Prince Maurice, the great soldier. He was succeeded as Stadtholder by his brother, Frederic Henry, a far abler statesman and a better man. In the same year, King James of England was succeeded by his abler son, who, though a somewhat better man than his father, was similarly misled by his political doctrines and ambitions. Of Maurice, we are compelled to remember that his record is stained with the blood of the patriot, tolerant theologian, and statesman, John Van Olden Barneveld, a stain yet deeper than that of the blood of Raleigh, whom James judicially slew. All that splendid record of Barneveld we may read in the pages of the admirable Motley, our American historian of the Dutch. The conspicuous service of Olden Barneveld to us was that, by preventing the formation of the Dutch West India Company during

Dutch History

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his lifetime, he avoided drawing the attention of Spain, the vindictive enemy of the Dutch Netherlands, to the little settlement across the water. Had the West India Company been organized earlier, its captains would have spent most of their energies in that piracy which is so prominent a feature in the annals of England. Such a course, entered upon deliberately by a great monopolistic, government-supported corporation, would have made impossible the conclusion of the Truce of 1609, which gave the Dutch twelve years of peace. Had Barneveld been permitted to live, the great trading corporation would not have been organized in 1621; and the development of New Netherland would have been left to free individual enterprise. It is probable that the West India Company retarded the growth of Dutch settlement in our land. Begun as it was but two years later than Jamestown, had New Netherland been left to the play of free economic forces, the province, from the Connecticut river to Delaware bay, would have had too large a population for a few ships to seize in 1664, and would have remained Dutch in government much longer; and a cosmopolitan population would have been spread throughout a greater territory than it was in that memorable year, 1664, when the second Charles Stuart stole a realm.

In history and in current literature, we hear so much of the influence of this and that worthy of England and of New England upon the development of American institutions and life, that it is profitable, in appropriate seasons, to consider the influence of the worthies of other regions in America and of other nations of Europe. In point of fact, American

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life at the beginning of the twentieth century is more nearly like Dutch life at the beginning of the seventeenth century than it is like what English life was at that time. The Dutch were tolerant; the Americans are tolerant. The Dutch were primarily an agricultural people; the Americans are fundamentally an agricultural people. The Dutch were becoming commercial by a natural evolution; the Americans are the greatest railroaders on the earth, and would be the greatest seamen, if the laws permitted. The Dutch had received tens of thousands of the most skilful and industrious artisans from Belgium, and had become the foremost nation of the world in manufacture; to that primacy the United States has recently risen. The Dutch worshiped the guilder; we have our "almighty dollar." The Dutch were interested in religion and saw the many sides of the "eternal questions"; they believed profoundly in the essential ethics. The Dutch might set up over themselves High Mighty Lords of the States-General and similar more or less useful and important pomposities: it was necessary to do so as an offset to the grandeur of the princely Houses of Bourbon, Hapsburg, Medici, and Stuart. But the Dutch, when they set up these grand figures, did so with a solemn dignity that had a certain humor about it. There was a democratic air in that country whose soil had been filched from under the North Sea. The Dutch were exceedingly interested in politics; so are we Americans. The Dutch were ruled in government by their merchants; the Americans are ruled by the business men. That little nation of perhaps three million souls in 1619, the year Barne-

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veld was beheaded, was a microcosm of the America that now is. The States-General were a federal nation; the United States were a federal nation, and now is a nation of inseparably federated States. There was abundant local self-government in the Dutch towns and cities; such self-government characterizes all American municipalities.

Barneveld, of the United Provinces, deserves a place in American history by the side of Pym and Cromwell of England. We Americans would to-day appreciate John Olden Barneveld as a fellow-citizen, were he alive, more highly than Oliver Cromwell or John Milton. The thought for which Barneveld was beheaded by Prince Maurice was a thought that is written in American history and lives in American life. This is the time to set forth its history.

Protestantism

The brief tale of Luther, Calvin, and Arminius belongs in an account of the land of tolerance, where all ideas were assessed, and where the issues were determined, rather than in that of Puritan New England, where ran the highest tide of Protestant theology. The protest of Luther was not the first, but it was the greatest protest against political Catholicism, its economic oligarchies, its corruption in the very sanctuaries of the Church. Luther believed in his right to read the Bible and to advocate reforms within the one great Catholic Church; he was a German Puritan. His protest was an accusation of one who belonged within the fold, and who preferred to remain there. Driven from the Catholic Church, he and his supporters founded the Lutheran Church, which is perhaps more like the Catholic than is any

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other Protestant Church. Luther was not a man of the greatest ability; at thirty-eight years of age he impressed the youthful Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Worms, as a "timid monk." Compared with that precocious man,—who was then but twenty-one years old,—Luther was inferior in all the personal qualities of physique and conduct that impress one's fellows. Charles was of the type of the world-conquerors,—hardy, bold, wilful, quick, self-reliant, wide-eyed, cool-hearted, dominant, and arrogant. Ablest man of his century though he was, Charles left a name less great than that of many another of his contemporaries. From the weak half of his blood, the Mediterranean-Teutonic, Charles, half Roman, half Frank, derived one quality that severely limited his influence: that quality was lordship, and with it went an inability to know a people's will. The sixteenth century is Luther's, for Luther was a veritable Columbus in religion, a foremost adventurer, who found a new world of ideas.

After this Saxon-German, Martin Luther, came John Calvin, born in the Gallic country that the Belgæ and their descendants have inhabited for two thousand years since Cæsar. Here was another Teuton, and a greater. Calvin split Protestantism into two great Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed or Calvinistic. Like Luther, insisting boldly upon his own right to think (and none might say him nay), also, like Luther, he was unwilling to grant the same right to others. On the face of the matter, it might appear that Protestant orthodoxy ran on all fours with Catholic orthodoxy; but logic and history both reveal the difference. The Catholic scholar never

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defiantly proclaimed his right to think and to make others agree with him. He asserted only his duties to learn what the scholars before him thought, to think their thoughts after them, and to make others think the same. One is the spirit of the mob, the religion of the crowd, the individual subordinated to the mass. To that condition the Roman Catholic Church, incarnating certain of the teachings of Jesus Christ and of the Hebrew prophets in the body of the State religion of ancient Rome, had brought Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, out of paganism into Christianity.

All the peoples of Western, Southern, and Central Europe, whether Mediterranean, Alpine-Celtic, or Alpine-Slavic, or Teutonic, whether of pure or of mixed race, were Roman Catholic in faith and practice until the independent Teutonic soul arose in Luther, in Calvin, and, marvel of history! in Henry VIII. The Protestant scholar asserted his own right to think. And after Calvin, born in the valley of the Oise in Picardy, there arose in Holland one Harmensen (Arminius), lover and maker of heroic souls, spiritual father of the American people, for whose political and religious creeds Olden Barneveld laid down his life.

The Remonstrants

Arminius was born in Oudewater, upon the northernmost branch of the delta of the Rhine. When he was fifteen years of age, the Spaniards fell upon his native village and slew all the men, old women, and children, but sold to the soldiers, many of whom were mercenaries, the maids and younger matrons at two or three dollars apiece, to what uses we know of a certainty.

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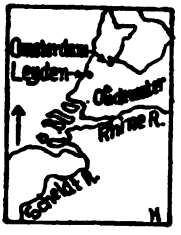
Fortunately for the world's progress, the lad was away at Marburg, pursuing his studies; but his widowed mother and her three other children disappeared in that evil day. In his desperate grief Harmensen betook himself to Leyden, where a great controversy arose between three parties. One party held that all the people of a country ought to believe one creed and one religion: Church and State must be a unit. Another party held that there must be one general religious faith, but that there may be minor variations in the creeds: a State must be Protestant, but all the citizens need not be Lutherans or Calvinists. The third party held that the people of a province or a district ought to believe one general faith, but that the sovereign State over all the provinces has no concern with the Church. In the studies leading to this controversy, the young Arminius proved himself so fine a scholar that the delighted merchants' guild, ruling the city, agreed to pay all his expenses in his further studies, and to make him the official minister for life. In 1582, at twenty-two years of age, having exhausted the resources of the University of Leyden, he went to Geneva. He studied also in Italy. In 1588, he returned to Holland, where he died in 1609, the year of the beginning of the Truce. "Forward let me still go in my search after truth, and therein let me die," he wrote to a friend.



Such was the man who founded the theological school of the Remonstrants, and upon whose teaching of independence in religion Barneveld built his

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political theory. Let each province have its own church, was an essential feature of this theory. Barneveld had done a greater service for Prince Maurice than Wolsey had for Henry, for the statesman had made the Prince Stadtholder. But Maurice wished the office made hereditary, and also wished all his liege subjects to think alike in religion. Therefore, he opposed Barneveld, Grotius, and the Arminians, who carried the future in their souls, and supported Gomarus, the clericals, and the Calvinists, who carried the past overlong. Like a Philip II., this too ambitious Prince, by the Synod of Dort and by a Court that applied its decisions, caused the heretic statesman, then seventy-one years old, to be adjudged a traitor. All these things, all this war of opinions and interests, the Prilgrim heard at Amsterdam and Leyden; and they saw with anxiety the approach of the end of the Twelve Years' Truce. All these things the Dutch merchants and sea-captains also heard and saw. Out of the English Pilgrim soul immediately grew Independency; out of the Dutch soul finally grew toleration.

Solidarity

It may seem a far cry back to New Amsterdam under the regime of the West India Company's monopoly; yet one more fact shows that we have been moving in a circle and are now at our starting-point. From the time of the Synod of Dort, 1618–19 to 1630, the Dutch Government attempted to enforce that Calvinistic orthodoxy in religion, and actually did create that monopoly in the Atlantic commerce, both of which Barneveld so vigorously opposed. In that era, the creation of the monopoly of the Dutch East India Company did not

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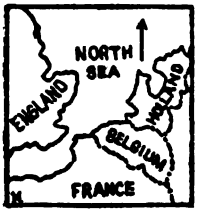
so clearly reveal its error as did the attempt to establish and to maintain absolute orthodoxy in religion; for the Company was without efficient competition from other great monopolies in France and England, and from many small free enterprises in the same regions; while, despite the laws, heresy and heretics multiplied in all Teutonic lands. We must not judge the Dutch too severely for their errors in the sea-trade and in religion. Monopolies were the fashion of the times. Orthodoxy, with its uniformity in thought, was supposed, then, to be the basis of patriotism and the substance of social solidarity. By their trading monopoly in America, the Dutch lost their opportunity for primacy upon the Atlantic and in the New World. When they had learned their error, the primacy in business and in politics was firmly located in the island that lay across the North Sea. As for Dutch orthodoxy, it never became triumphant. All through these years of religious discussion and of military struggle, tens of thousands of Englishmen, as soldiers and refugees, were sojourning in the Low Countries, and were learning from that people, who were fully two centuries in advance of the rest of Europe, many of the great doctrines and practices that flowered so soon thereafter in England and New England. For a hundred years, Holland was the school where English exiles learned the principles of culture, humanity, and political justice.



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CHAPTER IX

IN THE DAYS OF THE DUTCH RULE

1626–1664

THE history of New Amsterdam, from the effective beginning of the Dutch West India Company business in New Netherland to the year when England seized the colony, is largely the history of four governors, Peter Minuit, Wouter Van Twiller, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant. To understand these men and their system of administration, we must divest our minds of two prejudices: the fascination of Irving's pictures, and the notion that New Netherland was a colony, in the ordinary meaning of that term. In creating Diedrich Knickerbocker, Washington Irving rendered to New York and to American letters a service that deserves our admiration and gratitude. Our focal city needed a patron-saint and a pattern hero;—such is Knickerbocker. Our literature needed a worldly minded, sane, humorous, cheerful book, destined for immortality. Nevertheless, the *Knickerbocker History of New York* (so important is it that it forms a real part of New York history, and deserves due credit therefor) has obscured and distorted in the public mind, almost irremediably, the real

A Famous Literary Picture

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facts of the history of New Amsterdam. That *History*, by Irving, was a successful practical joke, because it is so perfect an example of the literary art: it is, in fact, almost worthy to be classed with the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes. But, like many things said in fun, the story of New York according to Diedrich Knickerbocker has lived to becloud and to befog the truth. There is a saying that an error is floated by the truth it contains; but this saying does not wholly account for the flotation of the errors in *Knickerbocker's History*. For there is almost no truth in the Knickerbocker pictures of Van Twiller and of Kieft, and only a little truth in the picture of Stuyvesant. Dutch life is so distorted by Irving's quizzical misrepresentations as to be recognized as true, only in part, even by the censorious critics of that admirable people. Their friends cannot countenance Irving's deliciously funny caricatures. Honest and responsible historians must deplore the volume, however much they may enjoy it as irresponsible men.

Business

The other prejudgment that affects unfavorably the success of our effort to see the truth of early Dutch colonial life is due to absence of exact knowledge as to the nature of the actual control of New Netherland. The West India Company cared nothing for the province as a colony, and everything for it as a factory. The directors desired dividends; everything else—government, settlement, agriculture, private enterprise—was remembered only as it bore upon the main ends. This sordidness, accompanied, as it always was in New Netherland, by the avarice of the prominent citizens,

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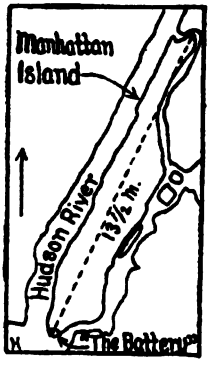
was a narrowing, even a degrading, influence in colonial life; but it had one great merit, for the men who are first and always business men never care to waste time upon theological discussions. The creation of a council, in 1626, to support the director gives evidence that business and not government was to be the all-engrossing occupation of the director. These councilmen were designated as bookkeeper, commissary, first and second shopman, and clerks. They employed a "schout," who was both prosecutor and sheriff. When not employed in government the "schout" was revenue collector. Thus was government subordinated to the omnipotent guilder.

Minuit

In the year 1628, Peter Minuit came to New Amsterdam as director. He was a German from Rhenish Prussia, and was so enterprising a person that he immediately bought Manhattan island from the Manhattan Indians for sixty guilders, coin value in modern money twenty-four or five dollars, and purchasing value five times as much. It was a very wise move, for it confirmed the policy of the Dutch, which was to treat the Indians as equals; and it made good friends of all the Lenni-Lenapé tribes. The Indians took their price in goods,—gay coats, ribbons, buttons, beads, and similarly useful articles. The bargain is said to have been a good one, for the cost of Manhattan island was about three guilders per thousand acres of wild country of hills, valleys, and marshes, where were to be seen bears, panthers,



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wolves, deer, and turkeys. Here and there was an Indian cornfield. It is not recorded whether or not the few hundred resident Indians immediately and permanently moved away. In truth, the payment was designed for peace rather than for property, that is, exclusive possession. Two hundred people, chiefly Dutch, down at the southern end of the island, had no immediate use for the whole of it. Considered financially, in one aspect the purchase was a bad bargain. Had Peter Minuit deposited the cost value of the goods in money in the Bank of Amsterdam the heirs of the stockholders to-day could buy, with the compound interest accumulations at rates current in the meantime, the whole of Manhattan's present real estate and have a handsome balance.

That fall, 1626, the director despatched to Amsterdam a cargo consisting of seven thousand beaver skins, seven hundred otter skins, several hundred other skins, and oak and hickory timber,—coin value nearly twenty thousand dollars and purchasing value five times as much. Three years later the exports were three times as great. New Amsterdam prospered so exceedingly that Minuit undertook to build a ship, the *New Netherland*. When it was done, it was one of the largest merchant ships in the world, nearly eight hundred tons burden. Meantime the famous fort at what is now called "The Battery" was built. Also an excellent minister, Jonas Michaelius, came out to the province to institute regular Dutch Reformed (Calvinistic) religious services.

In the period from 1628 to 1630, the Dutch West India Company took immense spoil from the Spanish

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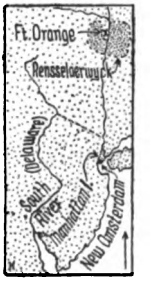
Main. Peter Petersen Heyn, in a single adventure, took booty valued at twelve million guilders, the incredible treasure of twenty-five million dollars in modern values; and added Brazil temporarily to the possessions of the Dutch Government, yet refused as an honorarium any part of booty or territory.

The College of the XIX. viewed with disappointment the comparatively small returns of the peaceful commerce of New Netherland, anb, in 1630, estabblished the old Dutch feudal system of patroons with tenants. The appointments as patroons were to be confined to the members of the Company. To each one who would settle a colony of fifty persons was to be granted a tract of sixteen miles' frontage upon the Hudson river, extending east or west as far as the patroon desired; or of eight miles upon each side of the river. Great powers of trade were offered, but all the fur trade was expressly reserved to the Company. All oversea manufacturing was strictly forbidden. Each colonist was to have a homestead. Though there was good and evil in this new charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions," the evil outweighed the good as the years went by. Even modified feudalism proved a blight upon the growth of New Netherland.



The first of the directors to take effective steps to secure land as a patroon was Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant, who promptly bought land about Fort Orange from the Indians and sent out colonists. Other selections of choice locations upon the Hudson and Delaware followed rapidly: the insiders were quick to seize their opportunities.

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In 1631, a settlement of thirty people was made at Swaanendael upon Delaware bay, only to be destroyed the next year by the Indians. So great was the discontent in the Company itself over the success of certain members in getting lands that Minuit, who was supposed to favor the fortunate, was recalled to Holland. The injustice of this becomes apparent upon consideration of the growth of the exports in 1632, the fruits of the energy of Minuit, to over four hundred thousand guilders, a value of over a million dollars at the present time. We have passed by the extremely lenient general treatment of the Indians by the Dutch in that period, and also the territorial negotiations and commercial transactions with the rising English colonies about Massachusetts bay. These matters will be considered later in the narrative.

The new director, Wouter Van Twiller, came over in 1633. He was a nephew of the great patroon, Van Rensselaer. Trained to private business, he was as wholly without generous public spirit as the wealth-seeking Company that employed him. In that year, Jacob Eelkens, who had been at one time commissary at Fort Orange, but was now in English employ, boldly defied the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam and sailed up the Hudson river; but he brought no furs back on his return trip, for Van Twiller sent soldiers to take his cargo. Director Van Twiller pushed vigorously the claims to western Connecticut, and bought lands of the Indians. He built many new buildings for the Company, the nature of whose

Van Twiller

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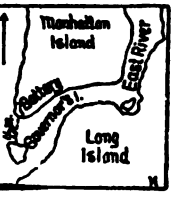
relation to the settlers may be inferred from the fact that one of the houses was for the Company's midwife. The chief new building was a church. In 1637, he bought for himself, from the Indians, the island that because of his purchase was soon known then, as now, by the name of Governor's island. He bought also two islands at Hell Gate in the East river. In the meantime, the English had pushed into Rhode Island, into the valley of the Connecticut, and to the Sound at Saybrook. Thus, they invaded lands that the Dutch claimed and meant to hold by their forts and by their constant visits, while on the other hand the Dutch secured lands upon Narragansett bay, and extended their already profitable trade with the settlements about Massachusetts bay. During the Pequot War, 1636–37, prices for provisions rose greatly: potatoes sold at five dollars a bushel, modern value in money. Even in Virginia, corn was worth twenty-five dollars per bushel, in modern money. The Dutch were quick to seize the opportunities thus afforded of great profit by trade. In this year Van Twiller's resolute enemy, De Vries, then in Holland, secured his recall. We have from him and from Van Twiller's other opponent, the minister Bogardus, who had succeeded Michaelius, very depreciative accounts of this director. It is certainly true that after his recall, Van Twiller still retained the wealth



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gotten diligently, though dishonestly, during his directorship. He did indeed neglect the Company's business, but apparently never neglected any opportunity, honorable or dishonorable, to benefit himself.

William Kieft followed this successful wealth-getter, and, before the year was out, had made himself the most unpopular man in New Netherland, by trying to regulate the hours when the "Company's servants" should rise and retire and how much they should eat and drink.

Kieft

Kieft was from La Rochelle, France, the Huguenot center, and very likely was something of a Huguenot himself. He wrote home a bitter account of the results of the ruinous mismanagement of Van Twiller, which undoubtedly he grossly exaggerated, that he might make his own management seem the better by contrast. He issued one excellent order, forbidding the sale of guns and gunpowder to the Indians. Hitherto, it had been the Dutch policy to equip the red men with weapons for successful hunting; but the various wars in New England and in Virginia had taught all the white men a severe lesson. He also made trading easier, and issued permits for manufacturing. The result was an immediate influx of people, many of them from New England.

In 1643, Father Isaac Jogues, the French Jesuit, wrote that he found eighteen languages spoken in New Amsterdam. He certainly found his compatriot, but not co-religionist, the Huguenot La Montagne, secretary of the colony and sole fellow-member

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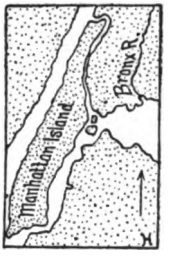
of the council with the director, who shrewdly retained two votes to the secretary's one. There, Roger Williams found a sanctuary of refuge for a time; and there, Anne Hutchinson, in her peaceful retreat upon the Bronx river, was murdered by the Indians in 1643. There, released bondmen and apprentices from Virginia found homes and wages. Already, New Netherland was a refuge for the oppressed, like the old Netherlands over the ocean. In this period of the directorship of Kieft, the Dutch extended their possessions farther eastward upon Long Island, while the English made settlements in all parts of the island. During the terrible troubles with the Indians, caused by wanton murders of various small bands of them, New Amsterdam became almost depopulated. Only eighty residents remained; the others fled to New Jersey and Delaware, to Long Island and up the Hudson. In prosecuting these Indian wars, Kieft had found it necessary to secure the popular support, and had chosen "Twelve Select Men" to solicit individual enlistments and contributions. He agreed thereafter to the election of "Eight Select Men" to take regular and efficient part in the government of New Amsterdam. This event marked the beginning of popular liberty, though Kieft did not consistently carry out his pledges. The "Eight Men" did indeed meet many times, and secured in the end the recall of the director. The creation of this advisory council shows the greatness of the power of the Company's director. It was the act of a despot who could make



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and unmake what liberal institutions he would. Another incident, however, shows the severe limitations of his power.

Kieft had made peace with that David De Vries, who had been so severe a critic of Van Twiller, but had to encounter even fiercer opposition from Domine Everardus Bogardus, who denounced him vehemently from the sacred desk. This opposition seemed peculiarly ungracious, because Kieft had made possible the building of a fine large church of stone for the domine in 1643, by subscribing one thousand guilders from the Company's funds toward the total cost, which was to be twenty-five hundred guilders. It showed the strength, in that age, of the clergy, that a minister could flay publicly the apparently all-powerful director, and yet suffer no harm. In this same year, a learned clergyman, by name Johannes Megapolensis, was sent by the patroonship of Rensselaerwyck to take charge of the religious affairs of that colony. The patroon there was no longer one man, but had become a joint-partnership of several, for Van Rensselaer had been forced to allow others to share in the power and the wealth of his immense landholdings.

There were now in New Amsterdam so many travelers from foreign parts that the director erected a Company's hotel in 1642, and a private citizen another hotel in 1643. Upon the recall of Kieft in 1646, there were in the entire province not over two thousand settlers, a poor record. At this stage, the Company considered its total net financial loss at least five hundred thousand guilders, say, two hundred thousand dollars in modern money. However,

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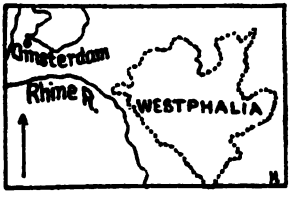
some of the directors, and of the other stockholders beside the directors, had grown rich upon the spoils of patroonships and other perquisites of office that we might call "graft." William Kieft and Everardus Bogardus went home together, both enriched by their colonial experience; for Kieft had run a distillery and a buckskin manufactory for his private account, and Bogardus had wedded a wealthy widow. Kieft was not to enjoy the four hundred thousand guilders of private profit that he took with him; nor was the learned man, who had denounced him for his rash and wicked treatment of the Indians and for his commercial dishonesties, ever to present the case against him. For in Bristol Channel, they perished together when the ship *Princess* went down a total wreck upon the rugged coast of Wales. Only twenty escaped of a hundred voyagers.

Stuyvesant

Before Kieft had sailed, Peter Stuyvesant was made director in his stead. Already fifty-five years old, he was destined to rule in New Netherland for seventeen years. He came to New Amsterdam in the same year that Frederic Henry, youngest son of William the Silent, and Stadtholder after Maurice, died, after long and efficient and noble service. Next year, 1648, by the Peace of Westphalia, the terrible Thirty Years' War was definitely ended, and as a minor feature in its result the independence of the United Netherlands was formally recognized by Spain. Upon sixty-eight years of warfare through a period of eighty years, a period



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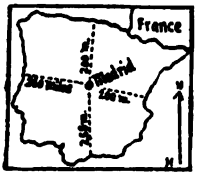
broken only by the Twelve Years' Truce that Barneveld had secured, Spain had vainly spent fifteen hundred million ducats, value in modern coin four billion dollars, purchasing power at least twenty billion dollars. It was an incredible treasure, spent upon incalculable ruin. As for the great war in which Spain was but slightly concerned, where, in Germany, had been flourishing villages, towns, and cities, was desolation; in many districts the population had been reduced to one tenth. Yet all the unspeakable crimes were done in the name of religion and with sincerity. There is a madness that leads rulers to order and servants to execute burnings, hangings, breakings on the wheel, starvations, assassinations, maimings, rapes, quarterings; and that madness seized and held the Mediterranean Spaniards, racially brothers to the Southern Italians and to the Northern Africans. In the Netherlands and in Spain itself, this madness reproduced, with worse horror, the Punic sacrifices of infants to Moloch. Compared with its awful sacrifices of life and with its atrocious displays of inhumanity, the Roman gladiatorial combats in the Colosseum were pleasant games. Such madness is a disease of the "ego" that imagines itself the only mind, its ideas the only facts, and its thoughts the only truths. To make all other minds conform exactly with this one's own becomes duty. It is a disease that the despot can scarcely avoid, for it induces the finite to imagine and to conduct itself as the infinite. To think one's self God is ruin,—whence came the ruin of Spain.



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The Thirty Years' War was practically over when Stuyvesant went out to govern all New Netherland and adjacent regions, the Dutch West Indies, and the other Dutch islands in the Atlantic. It was an auspicious season. A new domine, Johannes Backerus, was installed at the handsome salary of fourteen hundred guilders, the director's being but twice as much. Orders were issued, calculated to enrich the Company's treasury, and to embitter the already embittered Company's servants, the inhabitants of New Amsterdam. The new director refused to hear appeals for redress from Kieft's oppressive orders. He called it "treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there be cause or not." However, being in actual need of money, Stuyvesant, like a Stuart king, and like Kieft before him, was compelled to appeal to the people. He ordered the election of eighteen men, from whom, as was the new Dutch custom, he selected nine to serve as "tribunes" . . . "to promote the welfare of the commonalty as well as that of the country." How clearly the term "tribunes" shows the influence of the Roman law in Holland! The nine were to meet together for consultation; three of them each week by rotation might attend the governor's council, and they were to nominate their successors, being thus, after the beginning, a self-perpetuating body. Their minute instructions from Stuyvesant showed that he considered them but means to the end, which was "the best advantage of the Company." Stuyvesant undertook also the work of moral reform, instituting rules about Sabbath-breaking, drinking, and drunkenness, selling liquors, and misdemeanors. He also

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forbade the sale of liquors to the Indians. At this time, one fourth of all the buildings in New Amsterdam were devoted to the sale of beer, brandy, and tobacco. We have improved considerably since then, even in New York.

The Government

In this account of Stuyvesant's directorship, it is well at the beginning to consider the entire system of administration in the province and the relation of the individual settlers thereto. New Amsterdam was the governmental center of New Netherland; at this time it consisted of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Pavonia, Amersfoort, and a few other partly independent, partly subordinate, districts. The patroonships, such as Rensselaerwyck, were almost entirely independent of the director and of the Company. New Amsterdam, the patroonships, and other regions settled and unsettled, came under the general jurisdiction of the director. His special jurisdiction, wherein his powers were greatest, was over New Amsterdam. His general jurisdiction embraced New Netherland and the Dutch West Indies, all of which he held under the special Chamber of the Company, sitting at Amsterdam. This Chamber was, in its turn, dependent upon the College of the XIX., which was the executive board of the Dutch West India Company. Obviously, then, New Netherland was not a political province of the United Netherlands, "La Republique, d'Etat puissant, florissant et souverain," as the first accredited Spanish Ambassador, LeBrun, hastened to call the nation in his address to the "Edel, Groot,

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Morgenen Heeren," of the States-General, at The Hague in 1649; nor was it a colony. New Amsterdam itself was one branch of a great commercial enterprise, which, in order to effect its objects, was compelled to institute government. The Company had reduced its operations from actual fur-trading and exclusive landholding to the narrower field of collecting taxes for imports and exports, and fees for grinding grain and for issuing various licenses. It still maintained the duties of military defence, of general education, and of religious worship. The local director for the Company was a feudal lord; and the settlement was a remote and usually forgotten outpost of the Dutch sea-trade, a far fag-end of the foreign dominions of the Netherlands.

In this distant colony, the individual settler was utterly at the mercy of the director. He might indeed own land, for allodial land-tenure was dear to the heart of every unspoiled Teuton. By that tenure, the ownership is absolute, and there are no taxes to be paid. But when he bought or manufactured goods, or raised and sold agricultural products, he must pay tribute to the Company, at the peril of being an outcast from the settlement, or an offender to be arrested and punished without jury trial. He had absolutely no voice in public affairs. Stuyvesant harried "The Nine" about the town because they called at the settlers' houses to talk over public affairs. The condition of the settlers in Virginia was bad enough before the breaking up of the Company by the King, and it would have grown worse. But in certain respects the condition of the settlers in New Netherland, either under the director or under the

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patroons, was decidedly worse. In view of the prosperity and of the freedom of ordinary citizens in the United Provinces in the first half of the seventeenth century, this can be explained only by their remoteness in time and space from The Hague, by their complete subordination to the Company, and by the fact that individual freedom was upon the decline in Holland during the Thirty Years' War. New Amsterdam was farther away from Amsterdam than Manila is to-day from Washington, and the Dutch West Indies were far more lost in the toils of the administration of a dependency than are the Philippines. As we read the annals of the Dutch province in America as managed by the director, we are constantly reminded of the Roman proconsuls and proprætors, who scoured and scourged their provinces in Asia and in Africa. Fifteen centuries had made some difference in the methods and in the manners of the tyranny, but little in the motives; and as we read of the life of the settlers we see clearly that in quality they represented the home people no more fairly than the population of Dawson City fairly represents our settled Americans.

The People

In 1652, the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company instituted an important change in the politics of the colony, by authorizing a burgher government. It was only after visits to Holland and many discussions that the two Burgomasters and fourteen Fathers of the Burghery secured any real authority, but the form of a better government had been adopted. This was the first permanent city government in any community upon the soil of the present United States. In the mean-

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time, Stuyvesant himself had been recalled, only to have the recall itself revoked. The Company liked Stuyvesant better for his zeal than for his discretion or for his disposition. He extended the trade of New Amsterdam with the West Indies, where he had been governor at Curaçao before he was appointed over all New Netherland and all the islands. He bought good lands for the Company in various localities, and established, or permitted the establishment of, new settlements, especially encouraging the immigration of the English from New England, which now had fifty thousand settlers, over twice as many as Virginia. Schoolmasters and ministers were brought over from Holland; but no Lutheran was allowed to preach. Stuyvesant was faithful to the Synod of Dort, which was Calvinistic and Gomarian. There was trouble with the Indians: not so terrible and so continuous as in Kieft's time, nor had the Dutch genius for dealing with the aborigines entirely disappeared. But peace had departed; and needless massacres befell, now of the white men, now of the red.

It was in the administration of the vigorous though erratic Stuyvesant, that the Swedish colony in Delaware was broken up and New Sweden added to New Netherland. The last military and naval struggle took place in 1655, though the matter of sovereignty was not finally settled until a dozen years later. An account of this colony and of the hopes of its founders is presented in a later chapter. Similarly, for another chapter is reserved the story of

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the process by which in 1664 Dutch New Netherland was seized and made into the English province of New York. It suffices to record here that the early welcome by the Dutch of the English into New Netherland, and particularly into New Amsterdam, resulted in the addition of some very strong characters, such as Captain John Underhill, leader in the Pequot War, and Isaac Allerton, a veritable Pilgrim Father, who had come over in the *Mayflower*. In 1664, when the fleet of four war-vessels appeared in the harbor, there were persons of many different nationalities and religions forming that heterogeneous people. The Dutch were not in the majority; and many of the Dutch welcomed the change for reasons that may be summed up in the phrase, "private liberty and public honesty." At this time, 1664, there were fifteen hundred people in New Amsterdam and ten thousand in all New Netherland.

New York, 1664

It would be possible, by inclusions for chronological sequence and for interesting and more or less profitable comparison, to tell in connection with the history of a single settlement all the history of the seaboard colonies that became the thirteen original States. When this is done, as it may be some day, New York will be the happiest selection. Here, it is the purpose to present facts in connection with the colony with whose history they are most closely and pertinently connected.

Columbus has come down in American history as the chief person in two immortal pictures: the taking possession of San Salvador, and the report of his discovery to Ferdinand and Isabella. John Smith appears in two immortal pictures: his rescue by Poca-

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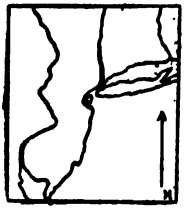
hontas, and his explaining the compass to the amazed savages. Peter Stuyvesant is remembered in but one scene, immortal, characteristic. In it the enraged soldier, stamping his silver-banded wooden leg, waves violently the order of the English to surrender New Amsterdam and implores and commands the burghers to resist; but all in vain, in vain. The earthquake of 1663 that shook New England, New Netherland, Canada, and was followed by a great freshet, was not more within the director-general's control than was the political revolution that shook the colony in 1664 and was followed by new and great streams of immigration.

As a matter of international politics, this rude seizure of New Amsterdam for the benefit of James, Duke of York, brother of King Charles II., and for the profit of the Royal African Company, whose chief business was the slave-trade, was a flagrant outrage. It began that new war between England and Holland in which Van Tromp sailed up the Thames with a broom at his masthead. But as a matter of colonial politics, it was justified by the course of the West India Company's general policy and by the outcome; as in truth are many unrighteous deeds, much to the confusion of our reasoning upon ethics. "Force rules the world still, hath ruled it, shall rule it," and "Might makes right." Nobody believed this more strongly than Peter Stuyvesant until the day that power found him powerless. In such fashion, the Dutch of New Netherland, who had never known a king or a lord, came under the kingship of



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Charles Stuart and under the ducal rule of his bigoted brother. And North America was made English from the Sounds of the Carolinas to the Bay of Fundy in buccaneering fashion well worthy of the king

who knighted Henry Morgan for his pillage of Porto Bello and of Panama and for the booty taken therein. And we who pause to think on such things find them endurable only when we remember that Peter Stuyvesant himself could endure them, for after a short visit to Holland he returned to live cheerfully in New York until, in 1672, the irascible man died comfortably in his bed at the ripe old age of eighty years.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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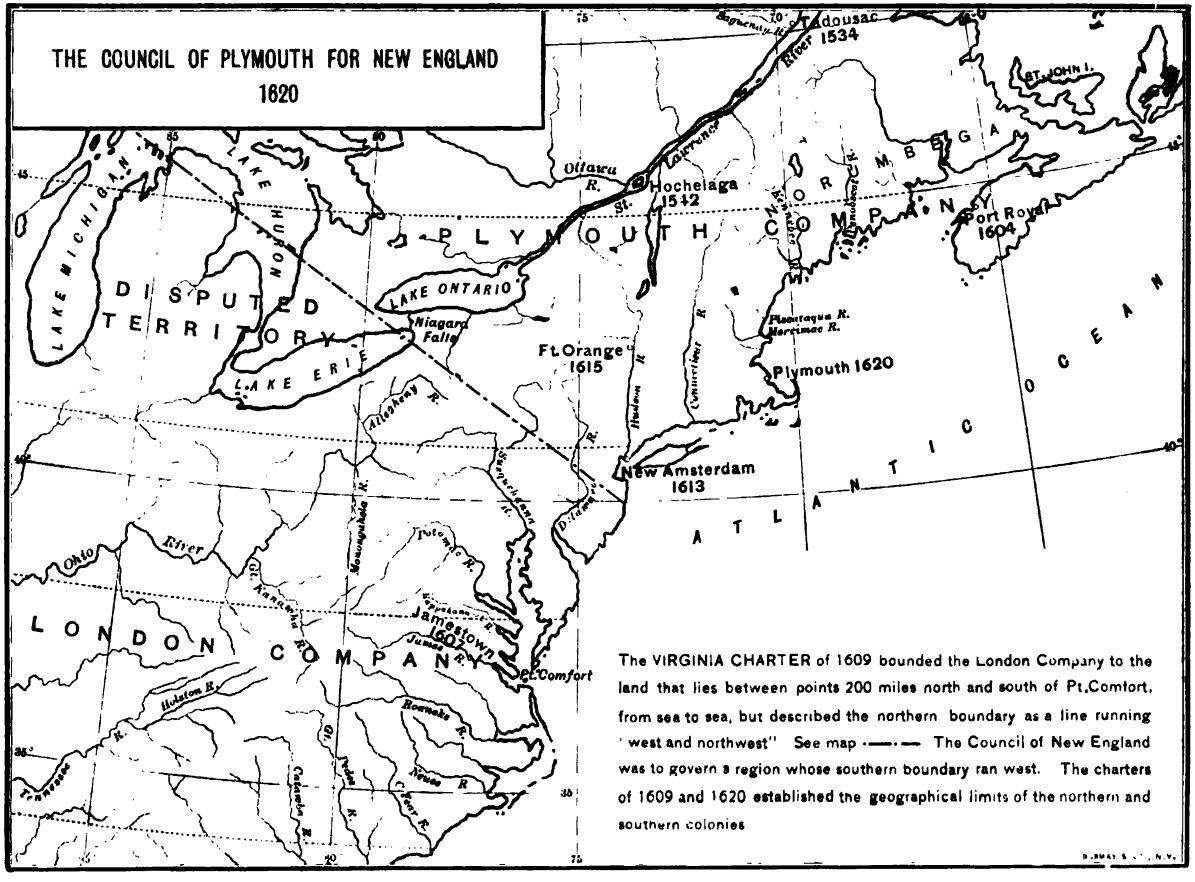

The VIRGINIA CHARTER of 1609 bounded the London Company to the land that lies between points 200 miles north and south of Pt. Comfort, from sea to sea, but described the northern boundary as a line running "west and northwest" See map ·——·—— The Council of New England was to govern a region whose southern boundary ran west. The charters of 1609 and 1620 established the geographical limits of the northern and southern colonies

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CHAPTER X

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH

1620–1691

WITH the coming of the English Cavaliers to Virginia, grace and hospitality began to abound in that fair land. There were to grow the first leaders whom Americans loved to follow. Further north, in the Hudson valley, entered the Dutch to give to American life their commercial energy, their religious tolerance, their common sense. Northeast arose another English society with its Puritan intensity of will and its strength of intellect. We needed all these kinds of people. For two thousand years, they and their ancestors had all lived within a few hundred miles of the delta of the Rhine. They were of one great family, differing only as brothers differ.

A Comparison

The Cavaliers differed as much from the Puritans as each differed from the Dutch, in race, in religion, in theory of government. In the Puritan era the west of England was Cavalier, the east was Puritan. The

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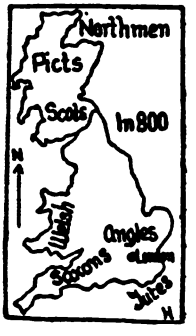
west was for the King; the east, for Parliament. In the west the people were Saxon: in the southeast they were Jute, in the middle east, Angle; in the northeast, Dane. The Catholic Normans got no hold upon the descendants of the terrible Jutes in Kent; that invasion went by and above them. To the middle east, came by scores of thousands the Flemings who knew how to spin yarns and to weave cloths; among them Lollardism flourished in its time, and Lollardism made good soil for Puritanism and Independency. In the west, there survived many of the peoples that were in England before Julius Cæsar. The fruits of St. Augustine's work were not utterly lost. Roman Catholicism was strong in central England long after Henry VIII. was dead. In the course of fifteen hundred years, names had greatly changed; but the blood of the Nervii was in the blood of thousands of Englishmen as it was in the blood of thousands of Dutchmen. The mother-country of England was the region from the Baltic to the Straits of Dover, and all her quarrels in Church and State were family quarrels, very intense and bitter, until strangers like Philip II. or Louis XIV. tried to interfere. Why British-Saxon-Norman England was ready to accept the King as by the grace of God, while Jutish-Danish-Anglian England was for Parliamentary republican-



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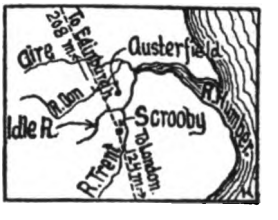
ism, is to be explained only by race, for there was in the Briton, the Norman, and the Saxon a certain intermixture of that patient, sturdy Alpine blood which, taught by the frugal hills and the unfriendly mountains, had learned through hundreds of generations to rejoice in obedience to the powers ordained, whether of Nature or of men. The foundation of the power of the Hapsburgs was the willing service of thousands on thousands of clients, tenants, soldiers, and serfs of pure Alpine blood.

The Pilgrim Fathers

In the year 1608, when John Smith was exploring Chesapeake bay and writing his letters to Henry Hudson, that enterprising pupil of Walter Raleigh, a small community in north central England was in great commotion. Scrooby, upon the little stream of the Idle, that flows into the Trent, had a peculiar trouble over a religious matter, and some of the people were about to go into voluntary exile. The village is in Nottingham, upon the edge of that country between the Humber and the Wash, into which the Danes had poured in floods a thousand years before, and upon the line that separated Catholic-Cavalier from Puritan-Parliamentary England. This commotion was one of the flurries that forerun storm and hurricane. The trouble in Scrooby was that a few of the people objected to the policy of James, which was so pointedly expressed in these words, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land." The leaders of these comparatively few people were



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William Brewster, who lived in Scrooby manor-house and was a man of family and of political importance; Reverend John Robinson from the Dane-descended people to the east; and William Bradford, a young man of substance, worthy to be their associate. The last of these was the diligent scholar who, in the years of the Dutch exile mastered five or six languages and became a learned expositor of Calvinism and a champion of Gomarus against the Arminian Episcopius, and who later was for thirty years governor of Plymouth. These men, with their friends and followers, met every Sabbath day in the parlor of Brewster's house to worship God in their own way. Upon them came the officers of the King who meant to make them conform. But Anglican Episcopacy in the persons of James and of the bishops desired not to harry them out of the land; on the contrary, when they tried to flee in 1607, the servants of the law brought them back. Next year, a hundred and more, by desperate adventure, succeeded in making their escape to Amsterdam, and by 1609, over three hundred of them were in Leyden, the home of the young but thriving University.

Hitherto, hundreds and thousands of Lollards, Puritans, and Separatists, had fled to the Continent from England. Hitherto, some hundreds of martyrs had perished for their faith in their unworthy native land. But peculiar significance attaches to this flight of those whom we now remember as "Pilgrims." There is the main significance that this little band moved in the full stream of events: to Holland; to New England; into the mightiest current of life that has ever yet flowed in this ancient world of men. They

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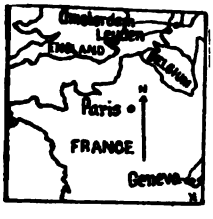
carried the idea. They were the force. They became the "Fathers." Other exiles from England disbanded and separated and were absorbed into the foreign peoples,—the Swiss, and the Dutch especially. These exiles from Nottingham and Lincoln stayed together, added to their numbers, nursed their souls in patience, and won an immortal name by rendering a service of incalculable value to mankind. Such is the great significance of this pilgrimage. There are lesser but essential features of significance in this flight, sojourn, and migration of the Scrooby exiles.

In the reign of that Mary, to whom we persist in attaching the damning epithet, "Bloody," hundreds of English, ministers, scholars, yeomen, and merchants fled to Switzerland. We must deal fairly with the daughter of Spanish Catherine, the granddaughter of Ferdinand and Isabella "the Catholic," and the doting but despairing wife of Philip II.: she was no Englishwoman at soul and but half in the flesh, and for that half she feared lest she should be lost eternally, for she inherited it from a father whom her Church had condemned and whom, with the hatred of the righteous, she hated for good cause. In Geneva at this time Calvin was almost supreme, Calvin the lawyer, the jurist, the historian, the philosopher, the theologian, the intellect of the Reformation. The exiles read his writings, they heard his speeches, they saw his presence, and what he thought was food and drink

Calvinism



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to their Teutonic souls. Calvinism was as far from Catholicism as the north is from the south. A comparison is needless. These were the teachings of John Calvin: So near is each individual man to God, the Creator of the world and of all men, that He elects each human creature from the foundations of the world for eternal life or eternal death; all the powers of heaven and of hell, of life and of death, fight to possess him; God sent into the world His own Son to reveal to the elect the truth that is to save them; and so vastly important is this issue of salvation, that, in comparison with the pricelessness of the boon of admission into the eternal kingdom of God, business, lands, offices, bishoprics, thrones are utterly insignificant, thoroughly despicable. There is a doctrine! This idea is a fire with light for the mind and with warmth for the heart! This truth makes men divine, for it is the breath of life. It was Calvinism that taught Hugh Latimer to say, "By God's grace we shall this day light a candle in England that shall never go out." It taught Cranmer to hold forth into the fire the hand that wrote the recantation. It taught Melville to say to King James VI., of Scotland before ever he came to the English throne also, "There is Christ Jesus the King and his Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject James is and of whose kingdom not a King, nor a Lord, not a head but a member." That was the utterance, not of a Roman pontiff setting the ecclesiastical power above the political, but of an individualist tearing down all power to set in its stead democracy. This was the Calvinism that created the soul in Puritanism. Its exaltation of the individual had an irresistible

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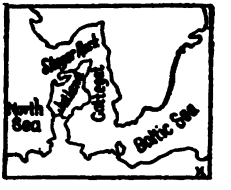
charm for the men of a race bred upon the sandy soil of Jutland, thrust out into the waters between the North and the Baltic seas. They were a race of survivors: only the strong could endure the winds that swept land and water; only the brave could dare the Skager Rack and the Cattegat; only the tireless could row from fiord to fiord on the Norwegian coast; only the perfectly healthy thrive on a diet of wild food from sea, and rock, and marsh, and wood. They were a race in which every head of family absolutely owned, subject to no lord and to no tax, whatever he possessed: each man was a king; each was self-governed; and each represented himself in the March folkmoot. Their souls endured through the generations, until with the open Bible of Wyclife, Tyndale, Coverdale, they saw in the vision of St. John a new heaven and a new earth more to be desired than Valhalla. And Calvin taught them the strait and narrow way thither.



Another feature of significance in this pilgrimage was that it showed these men not as typical Englishmen, but as Englishmen in advance of their times, appealing to Holland for protection. In this there is much to be seen. England was no loving mother: she cast them out. The true mother was the foster-mother, Holland, who welcomed them. In that land and among that people, they dwelt much as children who go home to their parents after sad adventures in the world. Why, then, did the Pilgrims seek to go forth to the lands beyond the sea? Their reasons were several, as their

The Second Pilgrimage

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own writings show. For the first, the Separatist exiles were mostly poor people, poorer far in Holland than in England, for they had abandoned their shops and farms and trades to go abroad. Their religious creed had cost them their wealth. This was not true of all of them. Some were able, through influential relatives and friends, to keep the titles to their property across the North Sea: these generously helped their poorer compatriots in exile. The Dutch helped many of them to get work and wages. But there was little land to be purchased, and all of it was at a high price, for it was soil taken from the sea and preserved by industry in the presence of danger. Some of them bought a block of land and built a score of little houses, in which to keep together. The very first reason why the Pilgrims were ready to make another pilgrimage was the great reason of all migrations of history, land-hunger. There was an untold acreage of free or very cheap land on the yonder side of the Ocean.

A second reason why the Pilgrims were ready to go abroad was the desire to escape the wars of the Continent. The Twelve Years' Truce was about to expire, and the Thirty Years' War had already begun. They were decidedly peaceful men, not war-heroes, not gallant gentlemen and knights glad to draw the sword and to make themselves active and dangerous, if not useful, in the affairs of life. They had left England to avoid trouble; they would leave Holland for the same reason. They were not cowards, though they were not courageous for blood-shedding or for the sight of it. They were the advance-guard of the kingdom of peace, the forerunners of the Quakers.

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They were going to take a Catholic soldier, Myles Standish, with them to do their fighting, a fact that indicates their freedom from bigotry and his also.

A third reason was as potent as either of the others: they desired to live together and to work out their experiment. Several hundred of them were ready to make the voyage as soon as funds could be raised. Rejected by the College of the XIX. of the Dutch West India Company, when they applied for permission to go to New Amsterdam, where they might all live together in a new population, they decided to go to Virginia, making, in some favorable locality upon the Delaware or the New Jersey coast, their New World homes. They had preferred the Dutch settlement; they discussed but decided against a colony in Guiana; they would not go to the English region of the Chesapeake bay; rather than do this they preferred to settle in isolation, and to begin a lonely colony upon a new spot. On the whole, this undesired state of affairs began to please them. Now they could set up apart their theocratic republic; but first they must raise the funds wherewith to begin to realize their dreams. They proposed also to gather out of England many other Separatists to go with them or to join them later for the making of a great religious province.

In February, 1620, the "Merchant Adventurers" secured a patent for the Plymouth Colony as originally proposed in the charter of the Virginia Company, and in November, a Council for New England was incorporated. Of the forty members of the Council, the most prominent were the Duke of Buckingham, James's friend, the Earl of Southampton, Shakspere's patron,

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and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth, a great supporter of New-World adventurers. John Smith, then in England, had published in 1616 a description of the region and had given to it the name. By his pamphlets and by his itinerant visits to various neighborhoods, he had greatly interested many English people in New England. Yet though the Pilgrims were destined to be the first successful European colonists in New England, and though they called their settlement Plymouth, they neither sailed under the auspices of the Plymouth Company nor desired to go to New England. They did not even name Plymouth for the Company to which the whole region had been granted; nor did they so name it because upon John Smith's map of New England, at the suggestion of Prince Charles, he had written that name upon the very spot; but they so named it because they sailed from Plymouth and desired to commemorate the last town seen by them in the Old World.

The famous Pilgrims of 1620 were not even the first Pilgrim-Separatists to voyage as a body to America—for in 1618 one hundred and eighty emigrants, a larger company than that of the *Mayflower*, were packed on board of a small boat and went out to the New World. But fifty survivors arrived in Chesapeake bay, where they quickly disappeared in the general population. But this disaster of their co-religionists, under the leadership of Blackwell, some of whom had been exiles with them in Amsterdam and Leyden, did not daunt the courage of the others. The seventy Merchant Adventurers sub-

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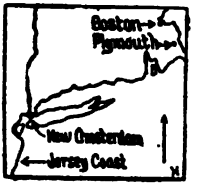
scribed seventy thousand pounds, an amount equal nowadays to two hundred thousand dollars; and the emigrants went out as servants of the stock-company until they repaid the costs of the enterprise. Sir Edwin Sandys was then the moving spirit in the London Company, which granted them lands, for the King would give them no charter.

In Holland, the little ship *Speedwell*, of sixty tons, was bought, and a little company embarked at Delfthaven in July, 1620, for England. There the Merchants Adventurers had ready an additional ship, three times as large, not purchased, but chartered for the voyage. Early in August the two ships, with a hundred and twenty passengers, besides the crews, put out to sea; but the *Speedwell* proved unseaworthy, and they returned. Finally, under Brewster, the ruling elder,—for the pastor stayed in Leyden with the larger number of the Separatists,—the *Mayflower* set out from Plymouth with a hundred and two passengers, September 16 (New Style). Two months later, November 19, they sighted land, far north of their desired destination, for storm and fog had thrown them out of their course. Storm and shoal water prevented them from turning south, so that they were forced to try the winter in that severe climate. Two days later, they rounded Cape Cod and found a temporary haven in the beautiful harbor where Provincetown now is, a quaint seaport of old sea-going New England. Almost their first acts were to draw up the famous Compact of the *Mayflower*

The "Mayflower" Compact



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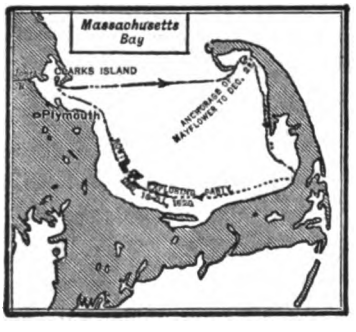
and to elect John Carver governor in accordance therewith:

"In the name of God, amen! We . . . do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic . . . by virtue here of to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and office, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony . . ."

There spoke the Teutonic spirit of the folkmoot; there was the language of the universities of Cambridge and of Leyden; there was the outcome of Magna Carta and of all the great documents that have crystallized the results of the struggle by which England's "unwritten Constitution" had been formed to that hour; and there was the forecast of what the man free before God in the Church was to do when he should use his freedom among men in the State. Forty-one persons signed the Compact, which in reality was better than the theoretical compacts of the French doctrinaires of a century later. Of the signers, thirty-four were members of the colony; seven were hired laborers. One man-servant had died on the passage and one boy, Peregrine White, had been born; the new colony had forty-eight men, twenty-five boys, twenty-one women, and eight girls. A majority belonged to the Leyden congregation. On



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December 21, they went finally across the bay to Plymouth.

It had been a terrible passage across the wintry sea. Already at the time of the landfall, five men were very ill. The *Mayflower* was a wretched ship: a main beam was so wrenched in a storm that only a long and heavy iron bolt, providentially brought along by a passenger, saved her from breaking amidships. Yet the winter was far worse. During its term, Governor Carver died, and William Bradford was elected in his stead. Isaac Allerton, physically a stronger man, was his assistant governor. Only fifty were alive in the spring; the rest had perished, chiefly of the cold and of insufficient food. The *Mayflower*, with the crew, remained all winter in the harbor; and it is regrettable that the crew refused to succor with food or labor the distressed colonists. When, in April, the ship sailed for England, not a colonist returned. To them the harbor, the "rock," and the hill had become a sacred locality. Upon "Plymouth rock" they had laid one after another the bodies of their fifty dead, and there they held their solemn burial services. In the spring, they carried the bodies up the hill to the new graveyard, guarded by a rude watch-tower. Yet the winter had been unusually mild, which was fortunate. Jamestown, in its first year, had an opposite experience; but farther south, that winter of 1607–8 was probably no worse than the season of 1620–21 at Plymouth. Not until March, did the Pilgrims have any dealings with the Indians, when a treaty was made, as everybody knows, with Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, who was

The First Winter

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introduced to them by Samoset and Squanto. Of these, Samoset had learned a little English of certain fishermen, who were numerous off the coast in the fishing-seasons. Squanto was a remarkable character who had seen Europe, and as the result of his experiences loved the English rather more than he hated the Spaniards.

The red men, however, had seen the white before ever they landed. It happened that in 1616 several red men had murdered two white men and that soon afterwards a great plague, in its nature unknown, had swept away more than half of the New England seacoast Indians. *Post ergo propter*, argued the untutored savages, who kept away from the civilized strangers, until curiosity and humanity overcame their fears. The Wampanoags taught the Englishmen how to grow corn in that sterile soil by putting a fish in every hill for fertilizer. They gave them corn and warned them against hostile Indians. The summer was prosperous. In November, thirty-five colonists were added, of whom ten were men. It was a welcome addition to the little fighting force, of which the valiant Standish was commander. New Plymouth was not destined ever to be a great settlement; its financial supporters in England were too few and in Holland too poor. In July, 1623, sixty emigrants arrived. In all, from 1620 to 1628, there were some three hundred colonists, of whom a majority had belonged, at one time or another, to the Leyden congregation. Their pastor, John Robinson, was fated never to see his dream of a separate religious State realized, for he, the moving spirit in it all, died in

The Slow Growth

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1625, at Leyden. In character, he was the most admirable and the most amiable of all the men who played a direct part in European colonization in America.

With 1630, a new era began for Plymouth in the successful establishment of Puritan Boston, farther north, in a far better location. After this time, Plymouth was decidedly in the background of New England history. But Plymouth was indeed the outcome of earlier colonizing experiments and led to the establishing of the Puritan colony.

In an earlier chapter, we have recited the brief story of Gosnold's colony in 1602, at Cuttyhunk island. Next year, Martin Pring, in the same *Speedwell* that the Pilgrims bought later so unfortunately, visited the New England coast. Two years later, George Weymouth made extensive explorations in the shore region. In that year, 1605, the French De Monts also visited New England. Samuel de Champlain, the indefatigable explorer, who had already visited the West Indies and New Spain, and had made those outline drawings of the Spaniards torturing the Indians that are perhaps the most damning of the documentary evidence in that sad matter, visited Plymouth itself nine years before John Smith gave the locality a name. In 1607, the Lord Chief Justice of England, John Popham, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Plymouth, hitherto mentioned at various times, sent out two ships and a hundred settlers under George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, whose names advertise

Discoveries and Explorations

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their families; they made a colony on the Sagadahoc river. But after the death of the Chief Justice's nephew, Popham, following a hard winter, the colony was abandoned by the survivors. Six years later John Smith made his famous voyage of exploration. In that year Adrian Block was on the Connecticut river in the interests of the New Netherland province. Next year, Sir Richard Hawkins made an inspection of the New England coast.

It was in this period that Captain Schouten of Hoorn rounded Cape Horn in a circumnavigation of the world; he was the first seaman to voyage eastward. Of the first six circumnavigations, Magellan, a Portuguese mariner in the service of Spain, made the first. Drake and Cavendish, Englishmen, made the second and third. The fourth, fifth, and sixth circumnavigations were all by Dutch seamen. As a result of Schouten's voyage, all maps had to be changed, for hitherto it had been supposed that the Straits of Magellan divided two continents.

In 1616, Sir Richard Vines saw New England, as also did Edward Brawnde. In 1618, still another sailor, Rocroft, reported the conditions of that shore. In 1619, Dermer was there. All of these matters are of interest, for they show that the Plymouth colony was the outgrowth of earlier experiments and of no little knowledge. All through these years the fisheries of Newfoundland were being steadily pursued, and all the reports of the New England coast were unfavorable to any attempts to make permanent

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colonies. As John Fiske, the historian and philosopher, says of John Smith's report, "He [Smith] declared that he was not so simple as to suppose that any other motive than riches would," and here Fiske quotes Smith's own language, "'ever erect there a commonwealth or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in New England.'" Not even riches, but mere accident and error, fixed the first Europeans upon the New England coast. The Pilgrims stayed because they were strong of heart and had learned how to endure poverty. Many of them had been wage-earning wool-combers in the manufactories of Holland. The poverty of the gravel-hills and of the sand-flats about the bay could not frighten them away from the New World freedom.

The Religious Motive

The occupation of New England by the Pilgrims at Plymouth may be compared, for likenesses and contrasts, with the occupation of Virginia by the first settlers of the colony that ran away in 1610, only to meet a party of rescue at the mouth of the James. Though both events occurred in the reign of the same English King, of him for whom the river and the colony in Virginia were named, they seem remote, as though an age separated them. The settlement of Virginia was the last prominent, direct result of the Elizabethan spirit in England; it was an adventure for profit, for glory, and for the extension of Protestantism in its warfare against Catholicism. Raleigh, though confined in the Tower, was in spirit a prime mover in it. Commercialism, nationalism, and daring were its dominant features. The settlement at Plymouth was the

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first direct result in New World affairs of England's domestic troubles and dissensions: it was no adventure, but a sober, solemn, deliberate, and reverent emigration for the sake of permanent settlement. In the spring of 1621, Elder Brewster said, "It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again." This was said when new-made graves held as many dead bodies as there were living people in the log huts of the settlement. It was the spirit that in all times and lands has animated the permanent pioneer-settlers: they went out to stay. Better a grave at Plymouth than a prison for conscience' sake in England.

Business Affairs

Plymouth, like Jamestown, was a company settlement. The Merchant Adventurers owned the land and the goods; only three of the seventy joined the colony in America. But the purpose of the supporting company there was radically different from the purpose of the London Company. The one was a loan company: when the debt was paid by the settlers, they would own the land and goods in their possession. The first Virginians were servants with a share in the profits. The first Massachusetts settlers were debtors. In neither case was the "communism" so often explained by historical writers really communism. In true communism, the community owns all the goods, takes all the products, receives all the service, assigns all the homesteads, buys all the necessaries of life and the materials and tools of industry, and distributes the means of existence and the profits, if any, of the enterprise. At Plymouth, the resident community

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owned nothing, but held everything in trust for the oversea creditor company, with the intention of making a final settlement seven years after the loan of 1619. In 1622, they despatched for England the little ship *Fortune* with a cargo of beaver-skins and fine lumber worth five hundred pounds, seven per cent. of their entire debt to the Merchants, but French privateers captured ship and cargo. The Pilgrims were honest men and worked hard at fishing, fur-trading, and agriculture, to support themselves and to earn a profit with which to repay their debt. John Smith, in his *General History* published in 1624, said of the settlers at Plymouth that, "the most of them live together as one family or household, yet every man followeth his trade and profession both by sea and land, and all for a general stock, out of which they have all their maintenance." At the end of seven years, Isaac Allerton arranged to compound the debt for eighteen hundred pounds, to be paid in nine annual installments. This obligation eight resident leaders, Alden, Allerton, Bradford, Brewster, Howland, Prince, Standish, and Winslow, and four London supporters of the settlement agreed to assume in return for a monopoly of the foreign trade. These leaders and supporters and the Leyden congregation of Separatists sent out at their own expense nearly four hundred new settlers in 1630, of whom three hundred were men. It is pleasant to know that the thrifty Pilgrims thus reinforced were able to pay off the obligation in full. They made other settlements in the region, but never became a numerous people. What they demonstrated was that the climate of New England was endurable, and that it

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was possible to make a living in the region. This demonstration was anxiously watched by the leaders of the Puritans in England.

The later history of the Plymouth colony, after the coming of a few Puritans in 1628 and of great numbers between 1630 and 1640, and until the union of Plymouth with Massachusetts bay colony in 1691, was not eventful. Some of its features, however, are significant. So poor were they that, though several of the early leaders were university graduates, they never felt able, until 1670, to establish elementary schools. Yet they had been familiar with the many excellent elementary schools of Holland and saw their northern neighbors establishing such schools as early as 1636. At that period, they numbered some twenty-five hundred or three thousand souls in the various Pilgrim-Separatist settlements. In 1633, they talked of removal in a body to the Connecticut valley and sent a colony to Windsor; but an emigration out of Massachusetts bay colony distracted their attention from the enterprise. Until 1638, they were governed wholly by the democratic town-meeting, but introduced the system of government by an elected General Court, which is a form of representative republicanism. Not until 1658, were there any religious disputes,—not that all of them were Separatists, but that the Separatists were tolerant. In that year, Quakers were excluded from the privileges of free men, that is, from the franchise; in that other colony to the north, the Quakers were made outlaws and outcasts.

Poverty

For over half a century, Plymouth maintained peace with all neighboring Indians, in accordance with

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the terms of the treaty with Massasoit. The Dutch dealt with the Indians not more honorably and not as fairly; the English Pilgrims taught the red men Christianity, paid reasonable prices for their lands, and sold them little in the way of guns or strong drink. The story of King Philip's War is told elsewhere. It was a fearful blow to the Separatist communities; half of them were wholly or partially ruined. Subscriptions for their relief were raised in far-away Dublin. Even London, plague-depopulated and fire-swept though it had been but a decade before, sent aid. From the results of this Indian war, they recovered too slowly to be strong in the time of the tyranny of Andros and of the English Revolution. Given their choice whether to be joined to Massachusetts Bay or to New Amsterdam, they preferred the nearer colony, in whose life their distinction was immediately lost. The smaller, clearer stream of Separatists had joined the flood of Puritans.

Union with Massachusetts Bay Colony

The story of Plymouth adds to American history a romance quite as interesting as that of Pocahontas; this was the romance of the courtship and marriage, in 1621, of Priscilla Mullen by John Alden, who had come to America as a hired carpenter. It would appear that Priscilla was a "high-born" maiden, who in that age of class distinctions could hardly regard John as an eligible suitor. But by this marriage perhaps as well as by his own inherent worth as shown by his industrious and honest character, he soon rose to the first distinction in the colony. He was the last survivor of the

Romance

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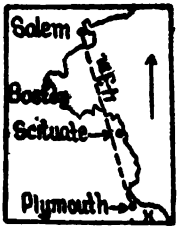
signers of the Compact. It was an "early marriage": John Alden was born in 1599. In this connection, it is well to note one cause of the failure of the Separatist settlement to grow rapidly. Though from the very first there were women among them, the women were relatively few. The deaths outnumbered the births in all the early years. Most of the early colonists were unmarried men of middle age; few reached old age, for few had wives and daughters to care for them. A few shiploads of marriageable maids (such as went out to Jamestown) would have multiplied the strength of Plymouth.

The colony adds a romantic figure to American history, a figure comparable with John Smith. The soldier, Myles Standish, was by no means the brilliant man that Smith was; he was no sailor, no map-maker, no book-writer also. But Standish stayed in the New World, reared a family, awed the Indians when necessary, broke up the roysterers at Merry Mount, helped to found both Plymouth and Duxbury, and was a pillar of strength throughout all his life.

Democracy

One who considers the Pilgrim colony as a Separatist movement, must not confine the attention to Plymouth. By 1650, Scituate was the largest of the Separatist settlements. By this time, Separatism had become Independency, and Independency was yet to grow into Congregationalism. This Independency was the religious belief of the people of a large district in Massachusetts and colored the views of thousands in Rhode Island and Connecticut. It was indeed



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the form which the Baptist movement took in its earliest days and was never to give up. Separatism founded religious democracy in its prevailing New England form, wherein each church is wholly self-governing and finds in fellowship with other churches of its own creed its sole relation with them. Separatism disappeared when its work was done. Such is the history of all great and vital forces in society.

Separatism brought to Plymouth the town-meeting, New England's peculiar political institution, which revives and maintains the ancient Teutonic folkmoot in a perfect form. Limited as it was in its own development by the poverty of the soil into which it was transplanted, and especially limited by its financial debt for the cost of its transplanting, still further limited by the personal poverty of the Separatists themselves, most of whom dared not to take to themselves wives and to begin the rearing of families, Puritan Separatism nevertheless managed to live and to become as leaven in America, so that it finally leavened the whole lump. With no brilliant intellectual leaders or masterful political rulers, the history of the colony is stained by the memory of no corruption in government, of no tyranny in office, of no brutality to the aborigines, of no Negro slavery, of no plantations aggrandized at the cost of smaller planters, of no greedy and futile search for gold, of no bitter feuds between the rich and the poor, the privileged and the dispossessed. Separatism built no ideal commonwealth, but greatly helped to build the democracy of opportunity and personal liberty in Church and State, business and society, that the American people now enjoy.

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CHAPTER XI

THE PURITANS IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

1628–1684

SEPARATISM, in the literal sense of the term, was older than Puritanism. The first great separatist was King Henry himself, and the first formal act of separation was the famous Act of Supremacy, 1534, by which the Church of England was made politically and ecclesiastically independent of the Church of Rome. Puritanism had its beginning long after the real separation took place. The members of the Church of England, rudely severed from the Church of western Europe with its supreme head in the Eternal City, were at first too greatly excited by the new conditions of estrangement from the past and of isolation from the Continent to think seriously and clearly of creed or of worship. Creed is a matter of the intellect, and worship a matter of the heart. A great majority of the subjects of Henry, in his time, continued to be Roman Catholic in belief and in ritual. The small minority, in their eagerness for separation from Rome, were impelled, as was Henry himself, only by the will to be free. Henry was never Lutheran. His protest was neither of con-

English Protestantism

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science nor of understanding, but of purpose. The course of the English people, from the King outward through all classes, was the usual course of action by individuals and by societies: the will spoke first, and the heart answered, whereupon the intellect invented reasons.

As events progressed, with their assurances of the maintenance of England's ecclesiastical independence, the Roman Catholics declined in numbers, absolutely as well as relatively; and the Anglican Episcopalians, substantially Catholic as they undoubtedly were, though not Catholics of Rome, began to have leisure to think of creed and of worship. The old doctrines and the old ritual began to appear inconsistent with the new conditions of the Church that, ceasing to be continental, had become national. The isolation of the Anglican Church now made it possible to give attention to its own internal conditions and to its motives and beliefs. In the later years of Elizabeth's reign, dissenters, clerical and lay, were driven out of the Church of England. By these measures, the Puritans were compelled to choose between conformity and separation. The law of 1593 made dissent punishable in the ordinary courts of justice. It was after this that the leading Puritans left England for the Continent. The prelates and lower clergy now began to assume for the Church divine rights, and Episcopacy desired to become as infallible and as tyrannical as Roman Catholicism had been. Two decades later, Arminianism, brought over from Holland by returned refugees and in books and pamphlets, became strong among the Puritans, and their Calvinism began to find converts among

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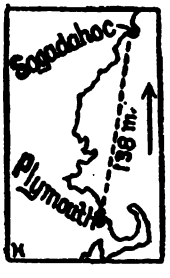
the strict Anglicans. It was at this stage of the religious excitement that the Separatists emigrated from Holland and England to New England, 1620–30. At the same time, the Puritans, both those outlawed from the Church and those restless within it, began to devise measures by which to secure relief from the intolerable condition of religious affairs.

The Puritan Discontent

But one cause of moving importance sent the Separatists across the ocean: this was the desire to secure religious independence. In the case of New Plymouth, the security was in the remoteness and isolation of their colony. Two causes sent the Puritans upon their enterprise: a similar religious purpose, and a desire to escape from the King's political tyranny that expressed itself in illegal taxation and other usurpations of the rights of Parliament. These were the two causes that produced the English Civil War. In that war the second cause was of the greater importance, while it was of the lesser importance in the Puritan emigration.



The Land Claims

While it is known that the colonists who settled upon the Sagadahoc (Kennebec) river in 1607 deserted the next year, it is by no means certain that the post itself was not permanently occupied thereafter by traders and fishermen attached to the Plymouth Company, in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the moving spirit. It is certain that the fur-trade and the fishery repaid the Company handsomely. The collisions of the English with the French in Canada and in

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Maine will be recounted in the chapters that deal with New France. Here the general subject is introduced incidentally, to permit the introduction into the text of several historical facts, generally neglected, that throw much illumination upon the history of the early days of the Massachusetts bay colony, the "New Colony" in contradistinction from the "Old Colony" made by the "Old Comers" at Plymouth.

Were all the truth to be told, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, deserves almost as much credit for the finally successful colonization of New England, early known as North Virginia, as does Sir Walter Raleigh for the colonization of Virginia. Both persisted through many years in the face of great financial losses, Gorges even longer than Raleigh; and neither profited by the final successes. When Raleigh perished, in 1618, Jamestown was the center of a successful colony; and when Gorges died, in 1647, there were nearly fifty thousand English people in New England. We may well call Raleigh godfather of Virginia and Gorges godfather of New England. Unfortunately for his American reputation, Gorges, in his old age, nearly fourscore years, fought for Charles Stuart against the Puritans. The Cavalier, with his grants of land in Maine, was never popular in Puritan Massachusetts, which desired the same lands.

In the second place, when the Puritans secured their trading-rights upon the New England coast, their grants conflicted seriously with earlier grants to others. Within the region that they seized,—without

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legal warrant, as we shall see later,—there were already several well-established, though small, settlements. There were also not a few settlements of Separatists and of others to the north, as well as the half-dozen Separatist settlements to the south. The Puritans came into occupied lands. The experiment of making a livelihood in New England had already been successfully accomplished. They were to reap the benefits of the wisdom of others, gathered from costly experience.

In the third place, the Puritan settlement, like the Separatist, was accomplished without the warrant, *in modo et forma*, of the Plymouth Company. The Puritans asked simply for trading and fishing rights; they dared not ask for more, lest the rulers in Church and State should refuse. As the result, they were fairly settled at Salem and Boston before their purpose had been discovered. The King, who had threatened "to harry out of the land" those disagreeing with him in religion, had broken up the Virginia Company for fear lest it should transport out of his realms too many of his subjects; and his son, who came to the throne in 1625, equally desired to rule not a deserted land, but a subject people.

The Clergy

Again, as Reverend John Robinson was the leading spirit, the organizer of the Separatist emigration, so Reverend John White inaugurated the Puritan exodus. This high place of the clergy in all the affairs of the dissenters is an extremely interesting and a highly significant fact. Since the time of Henry, the clergy had fallen upon evil times for them, for they had lost their fixed incomes based upon vested rights. By giving up their

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celibacy, greatly to the anger of Queen Elizabeth, and taking to themselves wives, they had increased their inevitable expenses. In half a century, they had fallen in their economic position as a class. Their office had lost something of its sanctity in the loss of the ecclesiastical relation with the Holy Catholic Church. The disputes within the Anglican Church and the separations from it, resulting in the various religious denominations or sects, lowered the clergy in popular esteem. All suffered,—the highest dignitaries of the Established Church with the lowest priests, curates, ministers, and preachers of all denominations. In such a social state as this, Reverend John Robinson and Reverend John White were among the important leaders, a fact that speaks well for their personal qualities and for the qualities of their congregations. It shows indisputably that here were men interested in giving and in receiving a true spiritual message. The clerical office is strong in any fixed society, and the cleric himself is strong in every age of commotion. In England, 1620 to 1650 was an age of commotion that was becoming severe and widespread in 1628, the year when the Puritan exodus began. In this age, many of the preachers of Puritanism and of more aggressive dissent proved themselves leaders. In truth, it was the clergy who originated the movements for change and improvement.

Principles of Colonization

The greatest differences between the Separatist-Puritan movement that resulted in the establishment of the "Old Colony," Plymouth, and the Puritan movement that resulted in Massachusetts Bay, the "New Colony," were those differences that are most apparent upon

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the face of the records. New Plymouth was an experiment: Salem, Charlestown, and Boston were founded upon its success. Roanoke Island, Sagadahoc, Cuttyhunk, Jamestown, New Amsterdam, New Plymouth, and all the other failures and successes, had lessons to teach. These lessons the Puritan leaders studied diligently and successfully; and, supported, as their settlements were, by sufficient financial resources, the issue of their colonization was never doubtful. While this is entirely true, it does not detract from the essential heroism of the Puritan migration. The first settlers had to face cold, disease, deficient diet, isolation, acclimatization, and the heaviest labor. Even as late as 1628, colonization in the New World was a terrible hardship. The sole important change in respect to 1607 was that the Puritans knew, what the Jamestown colonists did not know,—that success was possible. The sole important changes in respect to 1620 were three,—the Puritans of Massachusetts bay colony had a more favorable soil to cultivate, and were more numerous, and more wealthy. Even so, the awful death-rate reveals the tragedy of their lives.

The Puritans

The Puritan leaders included (besides the Reverend John White, who was rector in Dorchester) the Reverend Francis Higginson, who was a rector in Leicestershire, John Endicott, John Winthrop, and Thomas Dudley, all of them men of substance, family, and high social position. Their motive was to secure religious liberty for themselves; their purpose, to found a religious commonwealth remote from the strife and the sins of their native country. They were all Puritans; and

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in that day, Puritans included those who would stay in the English Church and try to purify it; those who would leave the Church and establish a better institution; those who would purify the State itself by reforming its laws and changing for the better all its officers; and those who, though not deeply concerned with the affairs of either Church or State, viewed with severe disapproval the state of public and private morals in all conditions of life. In 1628, White secured a grant of land, consisting of the territory included between a point three miles north of the Merrimac and another point three miles south of the Charles, "from sea to sea." The grant conflicted with that given, in 1622, by the Council of New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, and with another grant, given, in 1623, to Robert, son of Ferdinando. In the same year, 1628, Endicott hurried across the sea to secure possession, and at once took charge of the Naumkeag settlement, made two years earlier by White. The name was then changed to "Salem," which in the Hebrew means "peace." In 1629, a royal charter was secured for "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." In granting this charter, King Charles did not know the real purpose of the corporation that he created. That purpose was deliberately and carefully concealed, for he could never have been persuaded to help to establish a Puritan colony over the sea.

At once, a goodly company of more than four hun-

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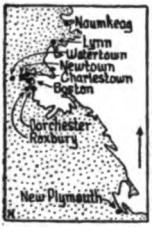
dred persons, of whom eighty were women, hastened across the Atlantic to strengthen the bands already there. In the following year, 1630, when Winthrop and Dudley joined actively in the movement, the great Puritan exodus began in earnest. A thousand people emigrated within the twelve-month. By 1634, there were four thousand Puritans, in some twenty towns and villages, including Salem, Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Lynn, Watertown, and New Town (Cambridge), where in 1636, but two years later, the Puritans set about establishing a college. In that same year, John Endicott, in the public square at Salem, cut from the English flag the red cross, denouncing it as a "relic of antichrist and a popish symbol." Nathaniel Hawthorne, greatest of New Englanders, styled that deed "the omen of the deliverance" of a century and a half later. Next year, the Massachusetts General Court reprimanded him for mutilating the colors of the mother-country. Soon afterwards, Endicott began his public career of a quarter of a century as governor or deputy-governor, a fact that is an instructive commentary upon this incident in his early life.



In 1635, the Council for New England ceased to exist, and New England was, on paper, divided among Gorges, Mason, and several others. The scheme failed, from several causes, of which the beginnings of the Great Rebellion in England were the chief. The King had other business than trying to reduce to the subjection of certain of his favorites and tools the angry and defiant Puritans oversea,

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who were already up in arms, with a great beacon made ready to blaze upon the highest hill in Boston. This flurry of excitement had no important effect upon the fortunes of the colony. In 1638, three thousand people were added to its numbers. In the period from 1620 to 1638, some twenty thousand persons left England for New England, nearly all of them going to Massachusetts. After that time, emigration almost ceased. Indeed, after 1640, more people returned to England than came to New England from the home-country. Evidently, other and new forces were at work to hold the attention of all Puritans to conditions in their native land, and to prevent their further emigration.

Charles I.

In 1625, James I., the most despicable of all the monarchs England has ever had, died, leaving the throne and the kingdom to his son Charles I. James had spent the last years of his life in intrigue by which to secure the throne for himself upon the death of Elizabeth. He was thirty-seven years of age when that event occurred. A scholar of intolerable self-conceit, physically repellent in appearance and manners, and morally debased, he found his new realm greatly disquieted in religion, business, and government. He left it in far worse condition to his son, who was but twenty-five years of age at the time of accession. Charles inherited many of his father's worst traits of character, and his mother's slow mind. With far less experience than his father, with less ability, and with a people in greater commotion, the young King undertook to carry out all his father's principles, religious and political. For four years, he convened

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Parliament annually; but, in 1629, he decided to rule without the annoyance of a national legislature. Not until 1640 did Parliament meet again. This was the period of the great Puritan emigration, which we may compare to the steam released from an overheated boiler by the operation of the safety-valve.

The people of England were in distress because of the King's attempt to reunite Church and State, and to make his will all-powerful through the machinery of government. They resented his marriage, in 1625, with the French Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria; his promise to send soldiers to assist France in any war with Spain, fearing lest the soldiers should be used against the Huguenots; his casting Eliot and Digges into prison for proposing, in Parliament, the impeachment of his minister, the Duke of Buckingham; his resort to the Tudor device of "free gifts" from loyal subjects; his ridiculous expedition against Cadiz, and his disastrous expedition against St. Martin; his suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus;* his support of Laud in his attempt to restore some of the ritual and of the forms of the old Church that they styled "popery"; his persistence in collecting "tunnage" and "poundage" without consent of Parliament; his later confinement of their hero, Eliot, in the Tower of London, till he died there of consumption, contracted from its dampness; his resort to the expedient of the ancient "Distraint of Knighthood," by which all landholders were given the alternative of assuming the expenses of knighthood or of paying a fine; his attack upon the titles of holders of forest lands; his grants of monopolies to

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corporations, by which coal, brick, soap, beer, wine, starch, and many other useful articles of daily consumption were raised in price; his levy of "ship-money" upon the coast towns, and even upon many towns inland; his encouragement of the abominable cruelties and usurpations of the "Star Chamber"; his upholding of Laud in the invasion of Scotland in the interests of the revived ritual and laws of the old State Church of England; and his sympathy with, and his reliance upon, Wentworth in the policy of "Thorough" in Ireland and England. In short, they resented his defiance of the English Constitution.

The Civil War

In 1640, while the angry Scots were in arms, the leaders of the people in Parliament summoned Wentworth before them upon the charge of high treason. That charge failing, they resorted to a bill of attainder. This was carried, and, with the signature of the false Charles, resulted in the execution in 1641 of his foremost minister. The tyranny of the Stuart King had broken upon the rock of the English will, expressed in Parliament. The Puritans need no longer flee to America to escape from a realm in which freedom was denied.

The rest of the story of the reign of Charles I. does not greatly concern the story of early New England; though it is interesting to note, among the great leaders in the popular movement against Stuart autocracy, Sir Harry Vane, who in his earliest manhood had been for two years governor of Massachusetts bay colony. It is also well for us to remember who those great leaders were: Sir John Eliot, orator, a man of the noblest and most attractive character; Sir Edward Coke, the learned jurist; John Hampden,

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the hero of the "ship-money" contest; William Prynne, who believed in purifying the social life; John Pym, the veteran statesman; and Oliver Cromwell, who became the central figure in the English world of the seventeenth century. These were the foremost leaders in the Civil War that followed, when the King drew the sword in defence of despotism, and rallied to the royal standard many gallant men. Singular as it undoubtedly seems, through all the early years of the reign of Charles, the century was prospering. Wealth increased. Population grew. Morals improved. But liberty languished, and men grieved at heart.

In the meantime, the Thirty Years' War was raging in Germany, 1618–1648. In it, nearly all Europe was involved. The Dutch Netherlanders were in no little distress because of its injury to their Baltic trade, as well as because of their own part in the military struggle. Many migrated to England. Many districts of Germany were almost entirely depopulated, chiefly by loss of life from the accidents of battle and from starvation from the ruin of trade and agriculture, but partly from emigration into Switzerland and into England. Fortunately for the development of the peculiar character of the people of New England, the migration thither ceased before the period of the worst terror of this war, perhaps the most terrible of all wars in history. In the English Civil War, the Netherlanders and their descendants, resident in England mostly upon or near the eastern coast, all supported the Puritan cause, thus adding no unimportant element of strength. In a population of some four millions of people, they

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numbered perhaps seventy-five thousand, and none were indifferent to the concerns of political and religious freedom.

The England of Puritan Memories

Men and women of the period of the great Puritan exodus had been children in the years of the declining glory of Elizabeth. In youth and in early manhood and womanhood, they had endured the spiritual misery of the reign of James I. In the prime of life, they could not endure the continuing and increasing wrongs inflicted upon the people by Charles I. and his archbishops and bishops, his judges and ministers, his generals and his revenue-collectors. They left England with bitter regret but with set purpose never to return home again but to redeem their liberties in the New England solitudes of field, forest, river, and ocean. They could live in log huts, work on land and sea with unflagging energy, eat fish and corn, and die unattended in disease, but they could not and would not pay the royal "fines" and worship God according to the royal order. They remembered all their monarchs,—Elizabeth with pride but disapproval, and James and Charles with anger, indignation, and bitterness. And in that memory began the American hatred of kings, not wholly justifiable, but seated deeper in the American soul than the love of life itself, likewise not wholly justifiable. Such was the temper of the Puritans, formed in the slow heat of the years before the Civil War and chilled by the passage across the North Atlantic. "The sword of Bunker Hill" was forged out of that tempered Teutonic metal, but five generations of men later. These men and women, more than twenty thousand in

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number, escaped out of the hands of Charles, whose minister, apostatizing from the Puritan cause, declared it his purpose to "vindicate the Monarchy forever from the conditions and restraints of subjects." For this policy of "Thorough," Charles raised his minister, Thomas Wentworth, to the peerage as Earl of Strafford; and for it, Parliament, as we have seen, took his life. Within eight years thereafter, Charles, his royal master, laid his own head upon the block, a martyr to the "divine right" of kings. On the scaffold he declared:

> "For the people, truly I desire their liberty and freedom . . . ; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government: . . . it is not in their having a share in the government; that is nothing pertaining to them."

If any King can be a traitor to his subjects, and if life may ever be taken for royal treason that has cost tens of thousands of lives of those betrayed, then Charles died justly. How strange, cruel, inhuman, and unnatural that speech sounds when compared with the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581, and with the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641! In making their escape from the Stuart tyranny, the Puritans were confronted with an attempt to enforce payments for royal licenses to leave the kingdom. Some paid these exactions, but most did not. Yet these Puritans were by no means a body of commonly poor people, though in disposing of their English estates they were compelled to sell at heavy sacrifices, so dangerous was it for any purchasers to seem to possess large sums of money in the days when the King's officers had the freedom of the land.

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There had been, indeed, a marked change in the quality of the Puritans since the beginning of Puritanism in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth. At its beginning, Puritanism appealed especially to the "upper classes" in Church and State. In the decade from 1630 to 1640, it appealed especially to the solid middle classes,—the squires, lower clergy, merchants, lawyers, manufacturers, farmers, and skilled workmen. This change, though it lowered the prestige of Puritanism, immeasurably increased its strength. From these classes were recruited the families that went to New England to build and to defend a new commonwealth.

Others, from the same classes of the English people, had preceded them, of whom Thomas Morton with his notorious company of merry-makers at Mount Wollaston (Quincy), or, as he called it, "Merry Mount," were examples. Myles Standish, from the company of the Dutch-trained Separatists at Plymouth, had visited them, intending to put an end to their dissolute ways.

But their merry-making was too essential a feature of English life at that time to be stopped by threats of arrest, even when backed by muskets loaded with powder and ball. That merry-making was a periodical debauch of men and women, and indicated perhaps more clearly than anything else in English Society, how near in time and in character the Englishman was to the Teutonic barbarian. Such were the vulgar English, against whose customs and morals Puritanism protested as strongly as against the tyrannies of Church and State.

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In the earliest days in Massachusetts bay colony, were seen evidences of the two great forces of English aristocracy and of Dutch liberty at work. In 1631, the Company restricted the suffrage to church members, a decidedly English idea. Whereupon, the people of Watertown voted not to help the Company to build forts, solemnly resolving that "it was not safe to pay money after that sort for fear of bringing themselves and their posterity into bondage." The Company then relented, and changed the governor, electing the stern moralist, Thomas Dudley, in place of the gracious John Winthrop. There spoke the spirit of Dutch democracy. In 1634, they adopted the method of representative government, and each town sent, instead of all its freemen, two representatives to the General Court. At this time, they adopted the secret ballot, that ægis of political freedom, already familiar in the Netherlands, but not to be known in England until the nineteenth century. Next year, the King's officers attempted to enforce the payment of ship-money in the colony; but, as Winthrop cheerfully said, the "disorders of the mother-country were the safeguard of the infant liberties of New England."

English versus Dutch Ideas

We must pass over the discussions regarding Roger Williams, since these concern more particularly the expansion of New England, to be dealt with in the following chapter. We may, however, note that Williams was himself a Dutch scholar, and that he had, in Massachusetts, many sympathizers who also had known the meaning of liberty in the Netherlands. Similarly, we pass over the discussions re-

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garding Anne Hutchinson and Thomas Hooker, noting that Providence, Hartford, New Haven, and many other towns were all settled before the great Puritan exodus from England had come to an end.

In 1641, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties was adopted by the General Court, or colonial legislature. Its author was Nathaniel Ward, lawyer, preacher, and writer. This Body of Liberties was a code of laws in some hundred brief sections, some of which are highly interesting. The code aimed at the protection of property and person from tyrants, highwaymen, and all others whose mode of life was injurious to the social welfare; at equality before the law; at reasonable payments for all services upon public works; at compulsory military service only when the public was in actual peril; at protecting inventions, but forbidding all other monopolies; at doing away with all ancient feudal relations; at establishing the age of twenty-one as the period of majority and entrance upon full rights over property; at the right of attendance at all courts and town-meetings; at the security of titles to property; at the right to depart from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; at the right of bail; at fixing eight per cent. as the maximum of interest; at fair judicial trials of all cases, private and public; at the right to challenge jurors; at the right of appeal from lower to higher courts; at the prevention of conveyances on premises extorted by violence or duress; at repeated trials for the same offence when once

"Liberties"

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adjudged innocent; at putting an end to "bodilie punishments inhumane Barbarous or cruell"; at requiring at least two witnesses in capital cases; at the right to examine all court records; at establishing coroners' juries for all cases of "suddaine, untimely and unnaturall" death; at making the "Civille Authoritie" paramount over the "Ecclesiastical"; at payment of all expenses of Deputies to the General Court; at the public election of all the general officers,—"Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Generall of our warres, Admirall at Sea," etc.; at securing the annual election of the "Deputies"; at establishing the power of pardon; at the complete establishment of local government for "shires" or "towns"; at the registry of the minority vote; at ensuring the wife's right of dower; at equal distribution of the estate of an intestate, save that "the Elder sonne shall have a doble portion"; at the grown child's right of marriage; at the servant's right of escape from a cruel master; at protecting all wrecks upon the coast from pillage; at preventing "Crueltie" to "any bruite Creature . . . kept for mans use"; at capital punishment of murderers and of traitors; at the right of the Churches to elect and to ordain all their officers; at holding monthly public conferences or assemblies of all the Churches of a neighborhood; and at establishing the General Court as the sole judge of the meaning of these "Liberties." So runs the impressive list, which shows conclusively that Holland as well as England, the Roman as well as the Common Law, protest as well as prescription, had been drawn upon freely in its compilation. This Body of Liberties was the fruit

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not only of the spirit of liberty but also of the work of scholarship. Some of its passages may well be quoted verbatim, for they show instructively the conditions and the thought of the times.

"26. Every man that findeth himselfe unfit to plead his owne cause in any Court, shall have Libertie to imploy any man against whom the Court doth not except, to helpe him, Provided he give him noe fee, or reward for his paines." There spoke the voice of the lover of freedom, who saw that in England, at any rate, at that time lawyers were parasitical and dangerous. Similar legislation was adopted in Virginia, as told in an earlier chapter of this narrative.

"43. No man shall be beaten with above 40 stripes, nor shall any true gentleman, nor any man equall to a gentleman be punished with whipping, unles his crime be very shamefull, and his course of life vitious and profligate." This "Libertie" speaks volumes. Beating must not be excessive. A gentleman's person is no longer sacrosanct; he may indeed be "vitious." If so, he is really no gentleman at all. Reverence for the "gentleman," who is the foundation of aristocracy, was evidently breaking down in 1641.

"45. No man shall be forced by Torture to confesse any Crime" except under special conditions. "Then he may be tortured yet not with such Tortures as be Barbarous and inhumane." Such was the first weak voice of humanity.

"46. No custome or prescription shall ever prevaile amongst us in any morall cause, our meaning is maintaine anything that can be proved to bee morallie sinfull by the word of god." The Puritans

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thereby proposed to try all institutions and laws by their "rule of faith and practice," the Bible.

"80. Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband, unless it be in his owne defence upon her assalt. If there be any just cause of correction, complaint shall be made to Authoritie assembled in some Court, from which onely she shall receive it." There are some residents in the United States even in the twentieth century who have not yet risen to the light of this "Libertie."

"89. If any people of other Nations professing the true Christian Religion shall flee to us from the Tiranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famyne, warres, or the like necessary and compulsarie cause, They shall be entertayned and succored amongst us, according to that power and prudence god shall give us." We may rightly call Massachusetts a theocracy, but it was also a sanctuary of refuge; like the Netherlands, and like England, New England was to be an asylum of the oppressed.

"91. There shall never be any bond slaverie villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require." Seven years was the usual limit of bondage.

"92. If any man or woeman be a witch (that is hath or consulted with a familiar spirit) They shall be put to death." There spoke superstition.

"96. How so ever these above specified rites, freedomes, Immunities, Authorities and priviledges, both

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Civill and Ecclesiasticall are expressed onely under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact forme of Laws, or Statutes, yet we do with one consent fullie Authorise and earnestly intreate all that are and shall be in Authoritie to consider them as laws, and not to faile to inflict condigne and proportionable punishments upon every man impartiallie, that shall infringe or violate any of them." The General Court feared to call these provisions laws lest the enemies of Massachusetts, in England, should use that fact to the injury of the colony. Yet its intent was plain, and that intent is of singular historical interest.

A code of laws, based upon determined principles, was unknown in English history. The "common law" was a matter of precedents, that is, of judicial legislation. It was a growth of the years and the generations, a result of the "rule-of-thumb," an outcome of tradition and of exigency, a display of conscience rather than of reason. The undertaking of the Massachusetts General Court to make a code reflected the influences of the Roman law, coming into England by way of the higher juristic scholarship of the Continent and particularly of the Netherlands.

Colonial Union and Social Autonomy

Two years later, 1643, saw the establishment of a confederation, known as the United Colonies of New England, and including Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven. This was a movement in the direction of association, on the part of all the colonies, a movement that ended finally in the general Congress, five generations later. The same year, 1643, saw another movement not less significant and

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important, the division of Massachusetts bay colony into four counties: Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex, and Norfolk, familiar English names that publish the origin of most of the settlers. This marked the destiny of the American people in the direction of systematic local government. This systematizing did not take place in Virginia, for there the settlers were Englishmen who had not been under the Dutch influences, as a very considerable proportion of the Massachusetts settlers had been, to the incalculable benefit of the institutions of Church, State, and School in America. In the early part of the seventeenth century, England was, as it is now, a victim of the excessive number of small local governing boards, with overlapping jurisdictions. The ratepayers were assessed by a score and more of independent assessors for a score and more of objects. There was far more definiteness in the local government of the Netherlands. And the people of Massachusetts, fortunately, were able to apply the principle even more successfully than were the people in the highly cultured land beyond the North Sea. Thereafter, the citizens of Massachusetts were subject to five jurisdictions: that of the mother-country, that of the colony, that of the county, that of the town, and that of the parish. The system was so simple and equitable that it has endured to this day and has spread throughout our country with every stage of its territorial expansion.

Eliot

In 1646, in the midst of all the struggles between orthodoxy and heresy in religion, John Eliot began his preaching of the Gospel to the Indians. Three years earlier, Thomas Mayhew

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had preached to the aborigines upon the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, as had others indeed in even earlier years. But Eliot began his ministry in a different spirit from the others; with him it was the surrender of a life to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the "savages." Eliot was one of that half-hundred of Puritan ministers, who, as graduates of Cambridge, found themselves, for their adherence to nonconformity, unable to secure parishes in England, and who consequently betook themselves to New England to do whatever work might appear. With a gift for the languages, he diligently studied the Algonkin speech, finally publishing an Indian grammar and an Indian translation of the Bible. He organized a great movement for the civilization of the red men, whom many learned scholars of that day, among them Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, sincerely regarded as the descendants of the "ten lost tribes of Israel."

By 1674, there were some four thousand "praying Indians," living undoubtedly a better life, in material things and in morals also, than they had known in their wild days. Most of these converts were from the Massachusetts and Wampanoag tribes. The fiercer Indians,—the Narragansetts, Nipmucks, and Wampanoags looked upon all the work of Eliot as an attempt of the white people to add to their own military strength and to reduce the red people to subjection. From this not unnatural suspicion, due, no doubt, in largest part to total inability to comprehend the real motive of Eliot, grew the forces of

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enmity that ended in King Philip's War. The work of this "Apostle to the Indians" was by no means the singular enterprise of an enthusiast, but was rather the deliberate policy of Massachusetts Bay Puritanism. In 1649, the English Parliament, at the instigation of Edward Winslow of Plymouth, established the *Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England*, which generously supported the work of Eliot. The comparative ineffectiveness and essential superficiality of this missionary movement were demonstrated in the great war of 1675 and 1676. The Indians in New England, until that time, had been treated, in general, by the colonists at Plymouth and at the bay, with justice as well as kindness. In particular, they had always received payment for their lands. After the war was over, the Indians had disappeared as a serious factor in New England life.

The Suffrage

We must leave to other chapters of this narrative the accounts of the witch-delusion and of free public schools. We must treat elsewhere the Puritan methods of dealing with the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and other heretics. The Massachusetts bay colony was apparently but slightly affected by the Puritan Commonwealth of England. In 1660, at the time of the Stuart Restoration, a great change was made with respect to the English colonies. A council for the plantations was established, and twelve councillors were appointed to take charge of New England. In 1662, it was ordered by the English Crown that "all freeholders of competent estate" should have the rights of suffrage and of office-holding, "without reference to their opinion

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or profession." By this order, church-membership ceased to be an essential qualification for citizenship. In 1664, the King's ships that were on their way to seize New Amsterdam brought four commissioners who were to rule New England. At this period, began a new emigration of dissenters and nonconformists out of England. They saw, with severest disapproval, that the Restoration was not only political but also religious and social; and many laymen and clerics decided to go out to the Puritan England on the western side of the Atlantic. The new immigrants added not only members but also wealth to the colony. A new age, remote from the dissensions that had led to the Civil War and to the great Puritan exodus, had set in. Thought was freer, there was more energy spent upon amassing wealth than in discussing religion, and social life began to assume an unaccustomed elegance. An aristocracy of culture, wealth, and birth began to appear. Over against it and in opposition to it, democracy rose in strength. The Puritan theocracy was no more, for it had broken down from the assaults of the forces of the new time-spirit.

A Royal Province

In 1684, a momentous blow fell upon the Massachusetts bay colony, by which its peculiar life of self-government, based upon the simple trading charter of 1629, was suddenly brought to an end. By writ of *quo warranto* (the same writ that destroyed the charters of the Virginia Company in 1626, of the Plymouth Company in 1635, and of the City of London, 1683) the charter was annulled; and by default of other government, Massachusetts Bay became a royal colony.

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We shall hear more of this in the chapter that deals with the "tyranny of Andros." It was one of the many measures by which Charles II. hoped to make himself such an autocrat as his father attempted to become. Fortunately for Charles II., a stroke of apoplexy, in 1685, stole him from a like scaffold for high treason against a people.

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CHAPTER XII

THE EXPANSION OF SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND

1636–1697

PLYMOUTH was settled in 1620, and before the great Puritan exodus had begun, in 1630, the Separatists were well established at half a dozen other points north of their original settlement. Salem was first occupied in 1626, though it had no considerable population until 1628. Before the great Puritan exodus was substantially at an end, ten years later, the Separatists, the Puritans, and the other immigrants from England had established many settlements, some as remote as the Connecticut river, and others far away upon the coast of Maine. The earliest history of New England is a history of expansion, due not to overcrowded populations or to lack of economic opportunity, but rather to three qualities of our human nature, two primary, the other secondary; two native, the other artificial and acquired, being a quality of culture and of civilization.

Causes of the Dispersion

Plymouth was a poor site for a settlement that must subsist partly by agriculture; but Salem, Boston, and New Town were well enough located to

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support adequately a far larger population than that of all New England in 1640. An explanation of the dispersion of the twenty-five thousand colonists, more or less, through a region from beyond the great river of central New England to the great river of Maine, may furnish the key to many movements of American history. The Puritans who came to New England were not all moved solely by religious motives. One of the very best of them all, John Winthrop, country gentleman and lawyer, came because he was offered the governorship, with a salary. Many manufacturers and merchants had suffered severely from the monopolies created in the reigns of Elizabeth and of James. They or their heirs were often in that painful state of economic distress, the necessity of reducing the family expenditures to the measure of a contracted income. Men never accept cheerfully a lower standard of living. In some cases, the income was totally at an end. Once having accepted the thought of leaving their homes, these people quickly surrendered to that *wander-lust* which in the most civilized human creatures is only sleeping, and never dead. The early Puritans were as ready to move on "out West" to the Connecticut as were the hardiest of the pioneers who broke through the passes of the Alleghanies, in the period of the Revolution. For a generation and more, most of them were "homeless" in America. Some, indeed, utterly "homesick," returned to England, braving the Civil War, rejoicing in the Commonwealth, and silently and grimly enduring the Restoration. They and their descendants who cherished the family traditions formed no insignificant element in the forces that

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brought to pass the English Revolution, with its Bill of Rights.

A second primitive characteristic of mankind is clannishness, which manifests itself in the desire of those with like ideas to associate together and then to betake themselves apart from all other persons. The universal land-hunger, keen in a people by whose legal institutions land-transfer was made extremely difficult and expensive, drove not a few Puritans across the ocean; but in 1630–1640, there was an abundance of free and good land in the neighborhood of the Bay settlements. In that period, society was being resolved into its elements; and communities were being divided into little bands, ready to follow a natural leader of men whithersoever he might choose to lead them. To that *wander-lust* which is sometimes branded as "the curse of the wandering foot," was added the primitive spirit of clannishness as a force, moving to the spread of the white people westward and southward from Boston and Plymouth. The very breath of life in Protestantism was sectarianism, denominationalism, schism, Separatism, Independency.

The third force in English human nature that led to the immediate expansion of the area of settlement in New England was an acquired quality. This was a deep personal sense of relation to God and duty to one's self and to mankind. Roger Williams expressed it as "sanctity of conscience." Even the theocratic Puritans, who regarded themselves as monopolizing all religious truth, maintained this sanctity of individual belief. Obviously, as soon as any man in New England became convinced that he

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had a new or a different truth from the Puritans, by the very force of the prevailing theory he was compelled to maintain that truth. Whether right or wrong, this doctrine was a very different one from that which expressed the faith of Catholic orthodoxy. Catholicism, like Puritanism, declared the necessity of religious solidarity. But Catholicism established its monopoly of the truth in the ancient tradition of the Holy Church while Puritanism asserted its monopoly in the new truth that the Bible, read by every Christian, is the only infallible rule of faith and practice. We catch the spirit of the times in certain phrases in that communication to King James, wherein the translators of the version of the Bible made in his reign commend their work to his "most sacred Majesty." The preface declares that

"if, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish Persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God's holy truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness; or, if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self-conceited Brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing, but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil; we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord; and sustained without by the powerful protection of your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavors against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations."

In its historical setting, the doctrine herein proclaimed by the Anglican Episcopal Church was of portentous significance as a revelation of the human

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mind and a declaration of the human character as displayed in England at the very moment when the Separatists were exiling themselves across the North Sea. A quarter of a century later, the English people, self-exiled across the Atlantic, were even more disposed than before to "run their own ways" and to "give liking" to those things only that were "framed" by themselves and "hammered" upon their own "anvils." Such, conspicuously, were Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker, as we shall see. These were the foremost men in the expansion of the English in New England; and their going forth as pioneer colonizers was due chiefly to their being "self-conceited Brethren," who had won followers to their conceits.

Early in 1631, Roger Williams was forced out of a position, to which he had just been appointed, as an assistant pastor in the Puritan church at Salem. The vote in the church to let him go was close, for he had many sympathizers with his views, which in brief were that the civil magistrates ought not to have authority in religious affairs, and that the soul-liberty of every individual ought to be complete and ought to be respected duly by all others. But the magistrates, then assembled in Boston, dictated the discharge, and Williams took refuge in Plymouth. Already a very learned man, a graduate of Cambridge and protégé of the famous Puritan jurist, Sir Edward Coke, Williams renewed among the Separatists his knowledge of Dutch principles in religion and government. In that same year, the Massachusetts General Court adopted legislation that was to make the colony a theocracy until Charles II. interfered, half a century later. In 1632, Governor

Williams

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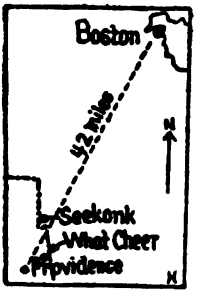
Winthrop visited Plymouth; and in 1633, Williams ventured to go back to Salem as sole pastor. This year, 1633, saw many other important events in New England. Plymouth colony built a trading fort at Windsor upon the Connecticut river. Thomas Hooker, who was destined to establish the colony of Connecticut, arrived at Boston, bringing the scholarly fruits of pastorates of three years' duration at Delft and Rotterdam in the Netherlands. Ipswich was settled by Massachusetts Bay colonists, and Scituate by people from Plymouth. In 1635, Concord was settled, as an outpost of the advancing settlement; and Newbury also. In this year, Williams again came into collision with the magistrates, and was ordered to cease preaching. Next year, he fled to Massasoit, chief sachem of the Wampanoags. Even Plymouth, however, objected to his presence within the territory of their patent, and he was forced to move to the west side of Narragansett bay, where Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansetts, gave him welcome. The Indians looked upon his defection from the "pale-face tribe" as a sign of weakness and dissension among them, as indeed it was. It was in this year, 1636, that Mrs. Anne Hutchinson began her interesting public career, which contributed considerably to the settlement of Rhode Island.



Anne Marbury Hutchinson, wife of the Reverend Francis Hutchinson, was a very remarkable woman. Born in Lincolnshire, the county more purely Danish (Norse) than any other in England,

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about the year 1590, she was the first woman in American history to display the qualities of leadership. We may call her the first "new woman" in America, for she carried on the propaganda of "woman's rights," and practised all her theories. Like other "new women" since her time, she was a good wife. She was also the mother of fifteen children. This learned woman came to Boston in 1634, with her head full of the strange and not very popular doctrine of Antinomianism, by which was meant the belief that the law of Christ displaced entirely the law of Moses and of the Prophets. It was a doctrine as old as Luther, and therefore older than Calvinism, Anabaptism, and Arminianism, of which much has been said earlier in this narrative. We learn certain features of the creed and practice of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and get some valuable light upon the mental and moral characteristics of the Puritans, by an examination of the famous trial of this brilliant woman, in New Town, Massachusetts bay colony, 1637.

Mistress Hutchinson

At this trial, the interlocutor of the formidable Mrs. Hutchinson was the suave but earnest Governor Winthrop, by profession a lawyer. According to an anonymous report that has come down to us, he began his examination by objecting to her maintenance "of a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex." Elizabeth Tudor might be monarch, but Anne Marbury must not be minister. Her sharp retort, "That 's matter of conscience, Sir," showed her nearness in opinion to Roger Williams.

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Mrs. Hutchinson conducted this "assembly" for women, and defended her course in these words, "I conseive their lyes in Titus a clear rule, that the elder women should instruct the younger and then I must have a time wherein I must do it." To which she added this brilliant sally, "Do you think it not lawful for me to teach women and why do you call me to teach the court?" Upon a further argument as to the preaching of certain ministers, "depraved" by her doctrine, who held that salvation is only by "covenant of grace" and not by "covenant of works," the governor was compelled to admit that "Mrs. Hutchinson can tell when to speak and when to hold her tongue." In a later part of this narrative, the religious aspects of the work of this great agitator are discussed. Here it is to be noted that her doctrine threw Boston into a fever of excitement, and that several ministers followed her lead, among them Thomas Hooker, recently arrived from the Netherlands. She numbered Sir Henry Vane also among her adherents. This great agitation, followed as it was by the persecution of the Antinomians by the Puritan theocrats, so disgusted Vane with New England that he returned home to the larger field of action. Another of her adherents, the Reverend Richard Wheelwright, fled to Piscataqua, though he returned later and recanted. The leader, with certain of her followers, went south to the island of Aquidneck, now called Rhode Island, and founded the village of Portsmouth. The sole ruler was William Coddington, styled the "judge." By the close of the year 1638, Providence had sixty people and Portsmouth almost as many. The latter

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community was split in twain the following year, and one group departed, to found the town of Newport. The spirit of social discord, which often accompanies, in its early stages, the spirit of personal independence, was never stronger than in these early years in New England.

Rhode Island Government

The compact, adopted in 1636, when Providence was settled, provided for government "for the public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, Masters of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship . . . only in civil things." The people of Portsmouth adopted a similar compact. When Portsmouth and Newport united, a few years later, by the new plan of government a representative democracy was instituted, with the Dutch principle of "rotation in office." Providence and Rhode Island became, like the Netherlands, an asylum for all manner of persons,—the discontented, the oppressed, the persecuted. In 1644, the colony of Providence Plantations was established, with a charter from the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonies, which provided for such "government as by the voluntary consent of all or the greatest part of them shall be found most serviceable. . . ." In 1647, the referendum, of which so much is said at the present time, was introduced in the following form: A measure must first be passed by the General Court, and must then be submitted to the votes of the freemen in each town. A negative vote in any one town defeated the measure for the entire colony.

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A feud between several of the towns lasted until 1654, when Roger Williams was made president of the colony and peace was restored. It is interesting to note that upon two different occasions Williams returned to England, securing great aid from Sir Henry Vane in his colonial affairs, and becoming a close friend of John Milton, to whom he read Dutch poetry. The founder of Rhode Island lived to the ripe old age of eighty-four, very remarkable in those times of hardship. He was a scholar of the keenest critical powers, a traveler, a philosopher, a statesman, and a born agitator and reformer,—altogether one of the most interesting and satisfactory characters in our early colonial history, to whom we owe the pregnant thought, "The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion." By that thought, and by the policy to which it led him, Roger Williams made his life of vital significance in the development of New England.

That other interesting character in the founding of Rhode Island, Mistress Anne Hutchinson, who for asserting "the paramount authority of private judgment" was regarded in Massachusetts Bay as "weakening the hands and the hearts of the people toward the ministers," and who took refuge among the Indians of Rhode Island, did not long remain in New England, but in 1642, fearing the "long arm" of the Puritan magistracy, departed with all her children to New Netherland. By this time her husband was dead; but, never lacking true courage, she founded a little settlement near New Rochelle at

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what is now known as Pelham Neck. There, in the following year, she perished, with all of her blood and of her relatives who were with her, save one little granddaughter, in a ruthless massacre by the Indians, who, however, four years later restored the child to the Dutch. Finally, the child went to Boston, where the memory of the first woman who was a church-leader and church-worker in America was still green in the hearts of many adherents within the jurisdiction of the Puritan theocracy.

In 1652, the colony of Rhode Island enacted that no man, white, red, or black, should be held at service over ten years, a fact not to be forgotten when we hear later that Newport was the American headquarters of the Negro slave-trade. In that same year, citizenship was restricted to present settlers and to such foreigners as were acceptable to the General Court. This amounted to "naturalization," a comparatively new practice then. In the following year, the sale of liquors to the Indians was forbidden, a matter of legislation then being commonly adopted in the colonies. In 1663, after the Restoration, that surpassing charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations was secured which was destined to remain in force nearly two centuries. Beginning in 1663, it was to outlast the American Revolution, and the War of 1812, and to continue almost to the date of the Mexican War, for it was not displaced until 1843, when a State Constitution was formally adopted, much to the grief of not a few idolatrous supporters of its then amazing anachronisms. Verily, "Time makes ancient truth uncouth," as Lowell said.

The Charter of 1663

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In this narrative, we have passed by the story of the Pequot War, and now pass by the story of King Philip's War. In 1686, a royal government was instituted at Narragansett, and Connecticut and Rhode Island were excluded from its jurisdiction.

Hooker and Connecticut

While Rhode Island was growing in numbers, in wealth, and in a singular character of democracy, Connecticut was developing. The same year, 1636, when Providence and Portsmouth were being founded by Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, respectively, Thomas Hooker left New Town (Cambridge) in Massachusetts, intending to settle near the Connecticut river. He led an interesting, almost spectacular migration. With the Reverend Samuel Stone, he set out at the head of a company of a hundred men, women, and children, driving a hundred and sixty cattle. They marched leisurely onward through the wilderness, following the Indian trails, until they came to the great river of New England, then claimed by the Dutch. It was a month of free life in the woods and fields. They arrived in July. That was the season when the adventurous and erratic John Oldham, immigrant at Plymouth in 1623, settler in Massachusetts Bay, 1624, and overland visitor to Connecticut, 1633, was murdered by the Indians upon Block island, one of the earliest indications of the activity of the causes that, in this same month of July, led to the outbreak of the Pequot War.

The settlers in Connecticut were fairly well-to-do people, and, in all, numbered at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield over two hundred persons. Their

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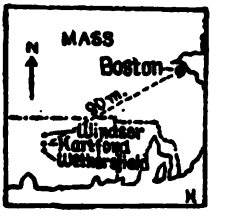
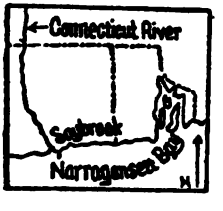
migration included practically all the people of the "church and town" of Dorchester, and of New Town and of the town of Watertown. These were three of the eight important towns of the Massachusetts bay colony. The settlers were unusually well supplied with the necessaries of life. But the cattle had recently been imported, in the ships of the Dutch West India Company, into Massachusetts Bay, and the acclimatization in the winter climate of 1636–37 proved so hard that many died. In addition, some thirty settlers were killed by the Pequots, who attacked their houses. However, such was the fertility of the soil of the valley, such were the attractions of the country, and such was the acceptability, to many, of the fundamental religious and civil ideas of the Connecticut colonists, that their settlements grew rapidly in numbers and in prosperity. They had the constant support of the younger John Winthrop, an ardent Dutch scholar, and a devoted friend of Thomas Hooker. It was John Winthrop, who as agent of the Puritan Lords Saye and Sele and Brooke, to whom a land-grant in the region had been made by the Council for New England, had built a fort upon Long Island Sound, and in honor of their lordships had called the locality Saybrook. This fort greatly assisted in the seizure of the river from the Dutch who, as early as 1633, had built a fort and trading post upon the present site of Hartford. This little post, armed with two cannon, marked a little region





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a few miles square, that the Dutch bought of the sachem Tattoepan. As late as 1819, remains of the fort were still visible. Not until 1653 did the English settlers upon the banks of the Connecticut take possession of this Dutch territory, with its Fort Good Hope; and this was done by order of the Parliamentary Council of State of the English Puritan Commonwealth.

It must not be supposed that the Dutch claim to the Connecticut river valley by discovery and occupation created in the minds of Thomas Hooker and of his followers any objection to settlement there. Like himself, others of the earliest settlers in Connecticut had found in the Netherlands an asylum from persecution for nonconformity. On the part of the masses of the people of England and of the Netherlands, there had always been very friendly feelings despite the commercial rivalries and the political misunderstandings. On the part of the scholars, from the days of Erasmus, the Dutch forerunner of the Reformation, who found a temporary refuge in England (and was given a purse of gold there, taken from him by the King's officers as "gift"), there had always been a strong band of sympathy between the two countries. In a letter, written by Governor Bradford of New Plymouth to Governor Minuit of New Amsterdam, the Separatists had pledged their heartiest affections to the Dutch. Isaac Allerton, who came over in the *Mayflower*, went to live in New Amsterdam in 1638; and no long time afterwards, Captain John Underhill, hero of the Pequot War, took up his abode, with several other discontented Puritans, at Stamford, within Dutch territory. These instances,

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which might be multiplied, show the general relations between the Dutch and the English in New England.

In the year 1638 the heads of families in Connecticut met together in a "Genrall Cort at Harteford," and drew up the famous Fundamental Orders, the first example in English history, national or colonial, of a form of government adopted by a popular assembly for the common welfare. It was doubtless suggested by the Dutch Treaty of Utrecht, 1579, by which a permanent confederation was formed under the style of the "Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands." The point of perhaps the greatest historical interest in connection with this great constitution is that it was created by the towns. Hitherto, the towns had been dependent upon the charters of the colonies. The American federal republic certainly began with Connecticut. It is profitable to note some of the features of these "Orders," which were finally shaped in 1639. According to their preamble, the "Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor Harteford and Wethersfield" did "assotiate and conioyne" themselves "to be as one Publike State or Cõmonwelth; . . . to mayntayne . . . the liberty and purity of the gospell, . . . as also the disciplyne of the Churches . . .; As also in o^r^ Civell Affaires . . . to be gouerned" by the provisions of the "Orders." These specified yearly meetings for election of officers by ballot (the Dutch custom, not the English customs *viva voce* or by show of hands, in which the strong intimidate the weak); and the officers were to be the governor and six assistant magistrates. Moreover, nominations for office were

Orders

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required a considerable time in advance (in order that only the competent should be chosen). One could serve as governor but one year in every two, and must have been a magistrate before his election. Each town was to send four deputies to the General Court; and the most careful and complete safeguards were thrown about the summoning of this Court, doubtless for fear of some repetition of the policy of the Stuarts in trying to rule without Parliament. The deputies were to be elected by ballot, and great concern was manifested to avoid the possibility of any fraud in the election. The General Court was granted powers similar to those of the English Parliament and to the Dutch States-General; and was therefore both a legislative and a judicial body. In especial, the Court was constituted as censor over the conduct of all minor officers and over the common morals. Liberty of speech was carefully limited, in the mildest manner of the times; but there was no reference to a "dread sovereign" or to "respect for magistrates," as in the codes of other colonies.

This great federal instrument, which distinctly reserved to the town-meetings all powers not granted to the Court, proved so strong and yet so flexible that it carried Connecticut through the War of Independence and lasted one hundred and eighty years, a period exactly equal in length to the life of the charter of Rhode Island. This democratic constitution was largely due to the political philosophy of Thomas Hooker, a minister, who, in an age when the clergy as a class were conspicuously in favor of aristocracy, opposed, in both theory and practice, that social

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principle. It is significant that this man, who as an assistant once taught school in London with John Eliot, later known as the Apostle to the Indians, and who was a minister all his life after his departure from London, died in 1647, at the age of sixty-three, possessed of the comfortable fortune of nearly ten thousand dollars, a sum certainly not less in value than fifty thousand dollars at the present time.

As the ministers led in the settlement of the three northern Connecticut towns, so a minister, John Davenport, led in the settlement of New Haven. Foremost in his congregation, were Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, merchants. This congregation came to Boston from London in 1637, and in the following spring moved by sea to the banks of the Quinnipiac river. This settlement became the center for others. In its motive, it represented the other extreme from that represented by Hartford, for New Haven was ultra-Puritan. New Haven was not the result of a church migration but of a stock-company enterprise. In this venture, Eaton invested the great sum of three thousand pounds while the poorest of the "free planters" invested at least ten pounds. In 1640, several towns,—New Haven, Stamford (no longer mainly Dutch), Guilford, Milford, Branford, and Southold on Long Island, formed a confederation. Here not all heads of families, but only church-members, were "freemen" with the right to vote. Nor was there any "Halfway Covenant," as in Massachusetts

New Haven

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Bay, where all baptized persons were considered church-members for voting-purposes, but were not therefore permitted to take part in the Lord's Supper. The towns were not governed by town-meetings, but by ecclesiastical officers known as the "seven pillars of the church." The seven were selected as follows: The church chose twelve men, and the twelve then elected seven. This was in accordance with the theory broached by John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay, ". . . the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." Fortunately for Connecticut and for America, Thomas Hooker, to whom Winthrop wrote those words, did not believe them sound reason; unfortunately for New Haven, John Davenport, to whom doubtless Winthrop said them, did believe them wise and right. The New Haven colony soon fell entirely under the control of the merchants. Davenport himself finally went to Boston, where he died in 1670, and was buried in the tomb of his dear friend, the Reverend John Cotton, the great defender of the continued union of Church and State. Unlike most of the other New England ministers, who were graduates of Cambridge, Davenport was a graduate of Oxford, that other of the two great universities of England; but, like Hooker and Williams, he was a Dutch scholar. In fact, he had taught in a secular school in Rotterdam, during a two years' exile from England, whence he had been driven by Laud for nonconformity to "popish idolatry." He deserves to be remembered in American history not so much

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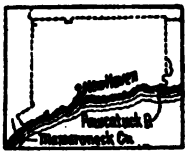
for his success as a political leader as for his protecting the "regicides," Goffe and Whalley, when, in 1660, the officers of King Charles II. were searching all New England to find them.

In 1643, was formed the confederation known as the United Colonies of New England, consisting of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. At this time there were in these four colonies some thirty-nine towns with a total population of twenty-four thousand people, of whom fifteen thousand were in Massachusetts and about three thousand each in Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. To the council of this confederation each colony sent two commissioners. Its chief purpose was military protection against the Dutch, the French, and the Indians.

In 1644, New Haven purchased the patent of Fenwick, by the terms of which he had settled a colony at Saybrook in 1639, where Fort Saybrook already stood. Settlement proceeded fast thereafter. New London, Norwalk, and Middletown were all settled by 1651. In 1662, the younger John Winthrop secured for Connecticut a very liberal charter from Charles II., granted chiefly that he might thereby injure Massachusetts Bay; and in 1665, Winthrop was elected governor for all the region south of the Massachusetts line and west from the Pawcatuck river to Mamaroneck creek beyond New Haven. By this charter and the later acts following from it, the colony of Connecticut lost its lands upon Long Island. In 1664, King Charles had granted to

The Connecticut Charter



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his brother, the Duke of York, a patent to the lands upon the west side of the Connecticut river; and in 1675, the governor of New York, Edmund Andros, destined to become very prominent later in colonial history, tried to take possession but failed. The boundary was finally adjusted in 1683, to the satisfaction of the Connecticut people.

We may now direct our attention to the affairs of northern New England. Springfield was founded in 1636 by William Pynchon, a man of substance. Like Salem, first known by its Indian name, Naumkeag, Springfield was first known as Agawam; as also was Ipswich. The new and permanent name was given in honor of the country-seat of the Pynchons in England. That Nathaniel Ward who, in 1641, wrote the Massachusetts Body of Liberties also wrote, in 1647, a clever screed that he called *The Simple Cobler of Aggavvamm*. In this diatribe against the Puritan theocracy as too tolerant, he says:

A Diatribe

"I dare take upon me, to be the Herauld of *New-England* so farre, as to proclaime to the world . . . that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keepe away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, and the sooner the better. . . .

"There is talk of an universall Toleration, I would talk as loud as I could against it, did I know what more apt and reasonable sacrifice *England* could offer to God for his late performing all his heavenly Truths then an universal Toleration of all hellish Errors, or how they shall make an universall Reformation, but by making Christ's Academy the Divills University, where any man may commence Heretique *per saltum;* where he that is *filius Diabolicus*, or *simpliciter pessi-*

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mus, may have his grace to goe to Hell *cum Publico Privilegio*. . . . The True English of all this . . . is nothing but a generall Toleration of all opinions. . . ."

When a man of very considerable learning and talent could write in such fashion, using such phrases as "universall Ideot of all the World," "a colluvies of wild Opinionists," and "The Civill State a Beare-garden," surely the state of society in Massachusetts must have indeed been chaotic and distressing. We may even sympathize with the Puritans in their honest endeavor to secure some uniformity of opinion lest community life cease to be possible, for over against such a theocrat of the theocrats as Nathaniel Ward, there stood such a radical democrat as Samuel Gorton, who for a time supported Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. In a book printed in London a year before the appearance of the work from the pen of Ward, likewise printed in London, Samuel Gorton declared that the Puritans

"denyed us the common benefit of the Country, even so much as a place to reside in, or plant upon, . . .; proceeded against us . . . unto confinements, imprisonments, chains, fines, whippings, and banishment out of all their Jurisdictions, to wander in the wilderness in extremity of winter, yea when the snow was up to the knee, and rivers to wade through up to the midle, and not so much as one of the Indians to be found in that extremity of weather to afford us either fire or any harbor, such as they themselves had, . . . whereupon we were constrained with the hazard of our lives to betake ourselves into a part of the Country called *Nanhyganset Bay*."

This passage occurs in the account of his troubles that Gorton prepared while in England trying to

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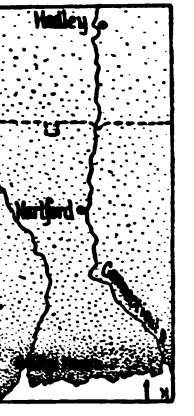
secure protection from the Massachusetts colony by an appeal to the Parliamentary Commission. He certainly had a grievance to air; but were only his fellow-men at fault? Gorton got into trouble at

Plymouth, at Boston, at Aquidneck, at Portsmouth, at Pawtuxet, and at every other place to which he went, until he finally settled down peaceably among his followers at Shawomet, where he died at a great age. Such a man, restless, half-learned, enthusiastic, advocating vigorously the doctrine of individual independence, was indeed dangerous to the peace of any little town fighting the great battle of existence in the New England wilderness. He was an irrepressible element in the dispersion of peoples, and may well serve as an extreme example of the difficulties with which Massachusetts magistrates were constantly dealing.



All New England was in a ferment until near the close of the seventeenth century. Beautiful Hadley, founded, in 1651, upon the Connecticut, received, in 1659, a large addition of settlers as the result of a disturbance in the democratic congregation of Hartford. The great struggle was under way as to whether Church and State, congregation and town, "Gospel and Government," to use the phrase of Peters, a colonist of the Bay, should be one and the same, and as to which should be paramount in the union, or

Theocracy versus Democracy

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superior in the case of disunion. The questions of democracy, of the "Seven-headed Church-Government," to use the phrase of Gorton, of the "inner light" of the Quakers, of the "soul-liberty" of Williams, of the "assembly" of women, and even of "universal toleration," to use the phrase of Ward, were all subordinate to the great issue, upon which the future of this nation was dependent. Was the Reverend John Cotton right when he said, "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government either for church or commonwealth"? Or was Thomas Hooker, his great antagonist, right when in a sermon to his people he declared it the intent of Scripture "to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it"? The answer turns upon the relation of Church and State, as Hooker showed, not in the exact words, but in the substance of his argument in that immortal sermon, preached in Hartford in 1638. When "by the free consent of the people" authority is granted to individuals, then, in both Church and State, the people rule. This kind of rule is simply political democracy, that is, the State controlling itself and all other institutions of society. The divorce of the Church from the State inevitably follows, partly because of the all-inclusive range of the political interests of society and of the relatively narrow range of the ecclesiastical interests, and partly because union between Church and State is impossible when there is no one person from whom, in theory and in practice, all authority emanates. Apostolic succession is inconceivable when the clergy cannot appoint their own successors. The discussions that radiated outward from Boston

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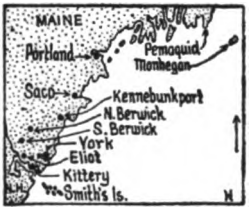
in the seventeenth century resulted finally in giving to this American people the one characteristic of greatest importance in our life and the one in which we most widely differ from the mother-country.

New Hampshire

Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, members and grantees of the Plymouth council, had established, in 1623, settlements at Little Harbor and Portsmouth. In 1629, the latter adventurer called his territory New Hampshire. In 1638, the Reverend John Wheelwright, Antinomian, settled at Exeter, instituting a system of popular government. In 1641, New Hampshire subscribed to a union with Massachusetts, and was thus a part of the New England confederacy of 1643. In 1679, King Charles established the right of Mason's heirs to New Hampshire, which was made a separate province. There followed a great struggle for popular liberty, as one result of which New Hampshire again united with Massachusetts in 1690.



In Maine, permanent settlements were made at Monhegan, in 1622, and at Saco, in 1623. In 1635, Gorges, already possessing Maine, was made, at the time of the dissolution of the Plymouth Council, in theory governor-general of all New England. By 1640, there were additional settlements at the Damariscove islands, Pemaquid, Portland, Kennebunkport, York, Smith's islands, and Kittery (now North and South Berwick and

Maine

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Eliot). In this region, Gorges proposed to establish an elaborate feudal system, but the plan came to nothing among the rough settlers upon the wild coast of the "province of Lygonia." In 1647, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the royalist, died. He had spent his life and a fortune of twenty thousand pounds in his ambitious projects in the New World. There followed a series of events by which Maine came into the possession of the Bay colony. In 1677, the Puritan colony purchased the old claim of Gorges, at a cost of twelve hundred and fifty pounds, greatly to the wrath of King Charles, who intended to grant the region to his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth.

The life of the people in New Hampshire and Maine was decidedly bolder and freer and ruder than that in any region to the south in New England. The people were fishermen, catching salmon and cod in the sea, and trout in fresh waters; lumbermen, rejoicing in the magnificent pines for ship-masts; hunters, trappers, sheep-herders. They resented the encroachments of rich men upon their liberties. Some indentured servants, whose time was out, asserted at Portsmouth that such men "rule, sway, and order all things . . . to their pleasure; have kept us under hard servitude, and denied us our public meeting, the Common Prayer, sacraments, and decent burial of the dead." Of religious troubles little is heard, partly because church membership was never made a requisite for becoming a freeman, and partly because from the earliest days the towns varied so radically from each other, some being Episcopal, a religious type of town apparently unknown in

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southern New England, others Puritan, and still others of the various kinds of "heresies." Toleration or war was the dilemma. For want of sufficient motives for actual conflict, the people of northern New England practised toleration, save when, under positive orders from the General Court of Massachusetts, they persecuted witches and Quakers. In nearly every instance, unfortunately not in all, when so ordered, rather than persecute and punish, they persuaded suspects and fanatics to leave their settlements. Venturesome men, early exploring the White Mountains and penetrating into the region of the Lakes, they took little interest in metaphysical subtleties. They achieved substantial liberty, while the best of the other New Englanders were arguing about it. And they added greatly to the enduring prestige of the northern colonies, justifying their descent from the men of the seas and of the coasts by their exploits. Forgotten usually in the recitals of historians, and isolated in the northeastern corner of the new colonial empire of England over the sea, the men of Maine and of New Hampshire, who came to America, as did the Netherlanders, "to make money," illustrated admirably many of the virtues of business men, of which the chief is strict attention to one's own affairs; which necessarily results in toleration of all other men and of all other opinions, when such toleration is possible.

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CHAPTER XIII

CATHOLIC AND PURITAN IN MARYLAND

1634–1675

THE successful planting and maintenance of the colony of Maryland was the well-merited result of the intelligence, energy, and unfailing patience of a single family, the Calverts, whose ancestors came to England from Flanders. Originally a Protestant, George Calvert, the first of the family to win great distinction, became a Catholic in the latter years of the reign of James I. A graduate of Oxford, who had traveled upon the continent of Europe, he won the favor of Lord Robert Cecil, and soon attained very high office. He particularly pleased the King and the Court party, by his enthusiastic advocacy of the proposed marriage between Prince Charles and Maria Louisa, the Spanish Infanta, as the unfortunate girl who happens to be the oldest daughter of the Spanish King is styled in the matrimonial markets of the royal world. He was greatly interested in all New World affairs, being a member of the Virginia Company, with interests in both the London and the Plymouth branches, and engaging in 1620 and 1621 in attempts to settle Newfoundland. He was also principal Secretary of State,

The Calverts

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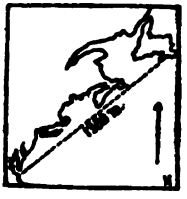
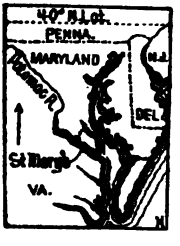
and therefore was concerned with all foreign and colonial affairs. In 1623, he was given a region there, the southeastern land, as a county palatine; and he himself lived upon the island through the winter of 1628–29, suffering extreme hardship. Before returning, with his family, to England, he went to Jamestown to see for himself what the real facts of climate and of other conditions were, for he was grieved and disappointed at the difference between report and reality in Newfoundland. As a Catholic, he was not well treated in Virginia, because he could not take the oath of uniformity, by which he must acknowledge the King as head of the Church. Yet he thought well enough of the colony to leave his family there, intending himself to return after receiving from the King a new grant of land south of Virginia.



In London, Calvert met with such great opposition that he was obliged to recall his family. Yet he finally succeeded in getting a grant of land within the limits of the Virginia charter. This new county palatine, of which he was to be lord proprietary, included a region bounded on the south by the north bank of the Potomac, on the east by the ocean, and on the north by the fortieth degree of latitude, west to the source of the great river. It was a magnificent stretch of country,—all of Delaware, a large part of Pennsylvania, and all of the Maryland of the present time. That is perhaps the best land in the best climate upon the Atlantic coast of North Am-



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erica. It was a noble gift of a very noble King, the friend of his youth, Charles Stuart; but in the belief of many it did not belong to Charles to give away, for it was part of Virginia. From this fact, one of the kind that kings like to ignore, not a little trouble flowed for decades to come. However, Calvert, who in 1625, the year of the accession of Charles, had been made Baron of Baltimore, in the Irish peerage, was not destined to go out and possess the land, for he died in 1632, three months before the charter was actually issued. His death, at fifty years of age, was due in part to the heavy labors connected with securing this patent to establish a "buffer" colony between the Virginians and the Dutch, and in part to the injury of his health from the hardships of the Newfoundland winter. His sons took up his enterprise with enthusiasm, and yet the oldest, Cecilius, the effective promoter of the colony, was destined never to see Maryland, though he lived until 1675.

The first settlers were despatched in the fall of 1633, arriving early in the next year, from the long circuit of the old route by way of the Azores and the West Indies, a delightful winter excursion. In the expedition were two of the brothers of Cecilius, of whom one, Leonard, became governor of the colony. The emigrants landed at St. Mary's, a location unusually well adapted for the purposes of an experimental settlement. The land for a stretch of thirty miles was purchased of the Indians, the Yaocomicos, who were delighted to get iron axes and hatchets in exchange: they could use them

St. Mary's

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to great advantage in their warfare with the Susquehannocks! Upon the site of an Indian village, the settlers, with the assistance of the natives, began their agriculture and stock-raising. Lord Baltimore had sent out an almost perfectly equipped expedition, which cost forty thousand pounds. Stock and swine were purchased of the Virginians. The good Jesuit fathers of the company were tireless in their work among the Indians, all of whom, Susquehannocks and Iroquois as well as the local tribe, became attached to these peaceful and promise-keeping settlers.

Conflicting Claims

Yet there was trouble ahead, then and for many years to come. In his extremely diplomatic letter of directions to the colonists, Baron Baltimore, a young man of twenty-seven, displayed all the ingenuity and tenacity that one expects to see in the dealings of a scholar trained by Jesuits. He was very anxious that the colonists should live at peace with the Virginians, should encourage and extend religious worship according to the Catholic Church, should deal fairly with the Indians, should maintain the region as their own, and should make the colony successful as a business venture. But two things prevented the perfect realization of his ambitions. The first was that a certain Virginian, by name William Clayborne, was disposed to challenge the right of the Marylanders to the soil; and the second was that the Puritans were willing to leave the Catholics at peace, even in their own colony. The history of these two struggles is the larger part of all the history of Maryland during the seventeenth century.

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In 1624, the Virginia Company had been destroyed; but it was expressly stipulated at the time that the boundary limits assigned by the charter were to continue for the colony. The new King felt that he was in no sense bound by any of the promises, expressed or implied, made by his father regarding Virginia, since this was now a royal colony, and, according to his theory of government, really as much under his control as he wished England to be. His Queen, Henrietta Maria, was a good Catholic, and he was very glad to help the English people of her religion to escape from the persecutions of his own Church. In all our efforts to understand the Stuarts, we must remember that they were happiest, because most true to their own natures, when they could play double with men and affairs. Consequently, though Charles was a Protestant, he was glad that his wife was a Catholic; and though he urged Laud on in his work of uniformity, he encouraged the Calverts in their endeavors to provide a refuge from Anglican Episcopal tyranny. Morally, he probably had no right to grant a patent to any part of Virginia; and he certainly had no right, moral or legal, to help protect, across the seas, people of a religion that was, to all intents and purposes, forbidden by laws inspired by himself. Legally, he doubtless had the right to grant this patent. Politically, it was wise, for it afforded a relief to the strained conditions of the times. Historically, his act was justified by its outcome, especially in its demonstration of the possibility of establishing and maintaining a commonwealth publicly pledged to the toleration of all Trinitarian Christians.

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A peculiar significance attaches to Maryland, since it was the model for all later colonial grants. A county (or other district) palatine was an ancient device of sovereigns by which to protect the marches of their realms. In such a county, the lord had all the powers of the King in his palace, and could therefore wage war promptly and effectively in behalf of his sovereign. There had been many, and still were several, such counties in England. In particular, the bishopric of Durham, between the Tees and the Tyne, in the north of England, was made a palatinate, for the protection of the realm from the Scots. As we shall see later in the course of this narrative, it was the region of one of the several homes of the migratory Scotch-Irish. The Stuarts, who were part Scotch, were familiar with Durham; and it is not at all strange that they saw in the palatinate government many features that they desired to have reproduced in oversea colonies. One feature appealed to them forcibly: the necessary loyalty of the lord of a palatinate to his sovereign. Applied to Maryland, this meant that the King created Baron Baltimore a count palatine, with regal powers in his county, and that in consequence the King controlled the Baron and the county. In accordance with this historical example of Durham, the King granted to Baltimore, as the lord proprietor of Maryland, power to grant titles of nobility (that he might build up an aristocracy for the support of the prestige of the proprietor), to coin money, to wage war, to put captives to death, to levy internal taxes and customs, to erect manors, to grant lands, to

A Palatinate

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establish towns, to create courts, to appoint judges, to pardon criminals, and to hand down his authority to his heirs in succession. The King was to receive in return two Indian arrows a year, homage-service, and one fifth of all the gold and silver mined; also, he might demand an oath of allegiance to himself from all the subjects of Baltimore. The English Crown was to receive no taxes of any kind, nor could the King veto or revise any laws of the province.

In the charter accompanying the grant, the lord proprietor was permitted the care of all forms of religious worship, "with license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels and places of worship, in convenient and suitable places . . . to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England." An assembly of all freemen was provided for, and as early as 1635 actually adopted a code of laws of their own initiative. After some trouble with the proprietor, there was substituted, in 1650, for this primary assembly of all freemen voting in person or by proxy, a representative assembly, consisting of burgesses in a lower House, elected by the people, and of councilors, in an upper House, appointed by the proprietor.

Unfortunately for the peace of Maryland, King Charles had granted, in 1631, to William Clayborne, leader of the Puritans in Virginia, a license to trade in any part of America "for which there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade." This "blanket permit" was given under the Scottish signet only; but it made as much trouble as though it were an English patent for settlement as well as for trade. In 1634, Calvert

War

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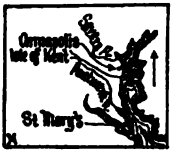
notified Clayborne that he regarded the Isle of Kent in the Chesapeake, upon which the latter had already



established a settlement, as within the jurisdiction of Maryland; and later in the same year the English Privy Council notified the Virginians that their private estates were not to be affected by the Maryland grant. With this grievance as a motive and with this decision as a basis of action, Clayborne proceeded to make private war upon the colony. In April, 1635, a fight occurred at Kent Island, in which one Marylander and three Virginians were killed. Upon an appeal of the whole matter by Clayborne before a committee of the Privy Council, it was decided, in 1638, that the Isle of Kent belonged to Maryland. Seven years later, in "Ingle's and Clayborne's rebellion" the supreme local authority over the colony was seized and held for a time by this Puritan leader, who was seeking vengeance for private wrongs. After the Calverts recovered their property, Clayborne went to England, and secured from the Puritan Commonwealth a place upon the commission of four officers to go to Virginia to demand its surrender, for that "Kingdom" held the execution of Charles treason and looked upon that homeless youth, the second Charles, who was then "upon his travels," as King by divine right. When, in 1652, the Puritan Bennett, who had been a refugee in Maryland, became Governor of Virginia, Clayborne was again made Secretary of State. Very soon afterwards, the persistent Clayborne was in actual possession again of the government of Maryland. In these dramatic scenes there appears one, the most

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dramatic of all,—that when Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector, laid his heavy hand upon the Puritans and ordered them "to forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore or his officers or people in Maryland."

In 1654, civil war, frequently threatened, followed in bloody earnest. The Puritans held the Severn, the Patuxent, and the Isle of Kent, with Anne Arundel (then called Providence, now Annapolis) as their headquarters. The Catholics at St. Mary's, under Governor Stone, sent an expedition up the Severn against the Puritans, and were routed. The Jesuit fathers fled before the Puritan persecution that resulted, and found refuge in Virginia. But as Cromwell grew physically weaker and as the Puritan Commonwealth declined, the Catholics plucked up heart, and toleration under the authority of Baron Baltimore was restored in 1658, the very year of the death of Cromwell. After the Restoration, the case of Clayborne against Baltimore became hopeless, and he retired to his estates in Virginia, where he died in 1676, at the ripe old age of eighty-seven, one of the ablest, strongest, most energetic of the men of the seventeenth century in America. The career of perhaps no other man in early colonial history was as vitally affected by the course of English history through the trying years of the Civil War and of the Commonwealth as was that of this "champion of Virginia" and victim of political intrigues. And yet, in studying the life of Clayborne, one must admire most the amazing adroitness of Cecilius Calvert, the Catholic, who through all that ultra-Protestant period carried his affairs forward so

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successfully that he won out in the end against apparently overwhelming odds.

Church and State

A closer scrutiny of the records shows that, in fact, the Catholic Calverts maintained their hold upon Maryland because they had upon their side the spirit of the age and the destiny of mankind. That spirit was freedom to think, and that destiny was separation of Church and State, not mere toleration, but real indifference, in all religious matters. When, in 1643, Church-of-England Virginia was driving out the Puritan intruders, Catholic Maryland was welcoming them, as always from the day of its founding. When, in 1652, the Puritan minority got into control of Maryland, they voted to "confirm freedom of conscience provided the liberty were not extended to popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion"; that is all were to be tolerated except Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and non-Puritans! But the Catholic Governor of Maryland always took oath that "he would not molest any person believing in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." It was because all the Barons Baltimore, to the sixth in descent, were tolerant in an intolerant age that was progressing into freedom, that they maintained their hold upon Maryland until the Revolution.

Incidents.

Of the insurrection of Governor Fendall, who, in 1660, tried to overthrow the proprietorship, it is enough to record, that, wanting popular support, it ignominiously failed. At that time, a law ordering "all vagabonds and idlers" to leave the colony also failed for want of popular support; it was directed against the Quakers who,

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fleeing from Massachusetts and Virginia, invaded Maryland and began an active propaganda against military service. In 1666, one Augustine Herman, originally from New Netherland, was naturalized as a citizen of Maryland, perhaps the first citizen to be formally naturalized in our country. A curious interest attaches to him as the maker of a map in which he marked the Alleghany Mountains as "the very middle Ridg of North America." The Mississippi valley was, to him at least, unknown.

In 1664, Maryland lost Delaware by the grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York. In 1681, a strip about twenty miles wide all the way across the northern part of the grant to Baltimore was given to William Penn. Otherwise, to-day half of Philadelphia would be in Maryland. The boundary disputes resulting from this characteristic carelessness of the Stuart King were not settled finally until 1763–67, when the famous Mason and Dixon's line was run.

Boundaries

In the later years of the seventeenth century, Maryland became overwhelmingly Protestant. Scarcely a twelfth of the population were Catholic, a sixth were Episcopalian, and most of the rest were Puritan. All sects lived at peace with each other, a condition unusual in those times, and due very largely to the skilful direction of the affairs of Maryland by Cecilius Calvert, who for forty-one years ruled "*that sweete, that rich, that large country.*"

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CHAPTER XIV

THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF NEW SWEDEN

1638–1655

The Leaders

WILLEM USSELINX, native of Antwerp, the projector and organizer of commercial ventures, who founded the Dutch West India Company and thereby gave to America the blessings of the civilization of the Netherlands, severely limited by the avarice of a trading company, was dissatisfied with his personal reward and proceeded to Sweden, where he speedily organized another trading company. This great commercial enterprise was begun with the patronage of the immortal Protestant hero of the Thirty Years' War, Gustavus Adolphus. In 1636, that Peter Minuit who had made so good a governor for the Dutch at New Amsterdam, wrote a very able letter, read in the Swedish Råd, advising the Crown of Sweden to undertake an expedition to America. He asked for a trading monopoly for twenty years and remarked that "as it often happens that French and Portuguese vessels are met with on the ocean, authority should likewise be granted to capture such ships and to bring them as lawful prizes to Sweden."

The first expedition, fitted out in part by Minuit

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and his Dutch friends and in part by the powerful Swedish family of Oxenstjerna, then in the highest offices of the realm, arrived in Delaware bay in March, 1638. They bought land of the Minqua-Iroquois upon the west shore of the Delaware, and immediately erected a fort that they called Fort Christina, in honor of the Queen of Sweden. Upon this voyage, controversies began with the Dutch who, in 1623, had built Fort Nassau upon the bay, and with the English who claimed the region as part of Virginia. Returning by way of the West Indies, Minuit, upon a visit to another Dutch vessel there, was lost when the vessel foundered in a sudden storm, but his own vessel finally reached home.

The Various Expeditions

A second expedition went out in 1640. This, like the first, was manned mostly by the Dutch. Later in 1640, a purely Dutch colony went out under Swedish auspices. In 1641, occurred the English invasion of some twenty families from that strict Puritan community, New Haven, who settled at Salem. The third expedition under Swedish control was composed entirely of Swedes and Finns, and arrived in 1641. Next year the Dutch drove out most of the English, being assisted partly by an epidemic of disease among them. In 1642, a new and greater colonizing company was formed in Sweden, with a new governor, Johan Printz, to take the place of the former leaders, Minuit and Hollender. This body of settlers had many discussions with the English in Massachusetts who desired to trade in the Delaware, with the result of excluding them. In 1643, there were about one hundred male settlers in New Sweden,

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besides whom there were some women and children, though probably not many. Many of the men, especially of the Finns, had been compelled to go to New Sweden, and for a time were the bond-servants of the Company. The colonists had many trials, including murders by Indians, arson by criminals among them, disputes with the Dutch and the English, poor supplies from Sweden received in a damaged condition, home-letters delayed by the Danish-Swede War, and the unaccustomed climate.

Yet, in 1647, there were nearly two hundred settlers in all New Sweden, mostly at New Gottenburg, and with three forts, Christina and Elfsborg on the Delaware, and Nya Korsholm on the Schuylkill. This was in the year when Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, declared it his intention to make all the lands from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen acknowledge the sovereignty of the Dutch States-General. In 1649, Queen Christina, who had begun her reign in 1644, sent out a fine relief expedition in a large ship, but it never reached New Sweden. The ship struck upon a rock near Porto Rico, and her voyagers were pillaged by the Spaniards; some escaped to Sweden, others remained in Porto Rico, while the few who tried to get to New Sweden were captured by the French and so outrageously treated at Vera Cruz, then in the possession of France, that but one ever saw home again, escaping in a Dutch vessel. It was partly the result of the loss of these reinforcements that Stuyvesant, in 1650, ventured to send a great

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force, far outnumbering the Swedes, to threaten them; but actual bloodshed did not follow, owing to the peace and friendship of Holland and Sweden over the ocean. At this time, the Dutch razed Fort Nassau and built Fort Casimir. For a period of six years no news was received direct from Sweden, so that in despair the faithful governor of New Sweden was forced to return in a Dutch ship to the mother-country. Finally, in 1654, a large expedition was sent out, with three hundred and fifty emigrants. Upon its arrival, the Dutch fort was promptly seized. The new governor, Rising, instituted other vigorous measures, endeavoring to bring back to New Sweden those who had deserted to Virginia and to New Netherland. He found but seventy settlers. Another Swedish ship, which had called at Porto Rico to request damages for the plundered Swedes of the earlier expedition, later made New York harbor, mistaking it for Delaware bay, and was promptly confiscated by Stuyvesant, to requite his loss of Fort Casimir.

In this same year, 1654, the famous Charles X. came to the throne of Sweden, and began eagerly to prosecute the New World adventure. But it was too late. The Dutch, under orders from the directors of the West India Company, had sent forward, in 1655, a large force to seize New Sweden. After much parleying and threatening, but without bloodshed, New Sweden was surrendered, and many colonists took the oath of allegiance to the High and Mighty Lords of the States-General. The ship sent out by the Swedish College of Commerce, which for several

The Surrender to New Netherland

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years had been in charge of the colony, arrived after the surrender and was held at New Amsterdam. There was talk in Sweden, for years thereafter, of attempts to recover New Sweden, or at least to secure payment for its loss. The seizure of New Netherland by the English, in 1664, did not immediately put an end to these Swedish hopes, which were not abandoned finally until 1669.

Causes of the Failure

Sweden spent upon the dozen and more expeditions sent out, during the nearly thirty years of colonial experiment, many hundreds of thousands of thalers, a sum equivalent in value to several millions of dollars. No nation spent more upon its American colonial enterprises. The final failure of Sweden to maintain a hold upon the soil of the New World was by no means due to any inherent weakness in the colonists sent out, for their enterprise, industry, and good order soon became proverbial among all the colonies; it was not due to religious disputes, for the solemn Lutheran ritual was acceptable to them all; nor to lack of willingness on the part of the Swedes and of the subject Finns to emigrate, for the South (Swedish) Company could not take all who applied. Many conditions were favorable: they took out women and children and made homes; the men were mechanics, farmers, and traders, rather than idle gentlemen, and they were generally faithful to their sovereign. The causes of the failure were three: the remoteness of Sweden, the misfortunes of several relief expeditions, and the lateness of the endeavor. It has often been said that the engrossment of the sovereigns in wars with Denmark

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and Poland caused the failure; but positive neglect never occurred.

In a wider historical sense, New Sweden was successful, for it provided the nucleus for the magnificent colonizing enterprise of William Penn, and demonstrated the value in America of the character and talents of the Swedes and Finns, those Norse landsmen, who did not go "a-viking," in the romantic age of adventure, but remained upon the Baltic plain, with its vast sea and its myriad lakes. Their great migration, perhaps fortunately for themselves and for the American nation yet to be, was delayed until the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CAROLINAS

1663–1697

WHEN, in 1663, the project was broached, of founding a colony in America in the region south of Jamestown, south even of the site of the ill-fated colonies of Sir Walter Raleigh, the problem of successful "planting" had been solved by the English, the Dutch, the French, and the Swedes. Already, there were many thousands of Europeans finding their own support and rearing large families in North America. Their total number was upwards of eighty or a hundred thousand, in the region north of the southern boundary of Virginia. The conditions essential to success were these: support from home for the first few years, a community consisting almost wholly of workers, private ownership (or at least separate tenancy) of land, and a site advantageous for trading, for fishing, or for agriculture. Throughout the seventeenth century, the conditions in England and upon the continent of Europe were such that many were ready to emigrate almost regardless of the inducements offered. By no means all of the Separatists came who desired to do so. Hundreds of Swedes

Principles of Colonization

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and Finns who applied for transportation to New Sweden were refused. Only poverty and harsh laws prevented a wholesale departure of French Huguenots who, nevertheless, in the middle of the seventeenth century were so numerous in New Amsterdam that the laws were often printed in French as well as in Dutch. In the days of their harrowing by Cromwell, the Irish looked westward with anguished longing. The Dutch were perhaps the only people in Europe who were really comfortable at home. Yet even their culture had passed the most rapid period of its development, and signs of the waning of their industrial, commercial, and social supremacy were not lacking. Of the uneasiness of England, as it passed from the duplicity of the Stuarts and the tyranny of the Anglican bishops to the narrow enthusiasm of the Puritans, enough has been said earlier in this narrative to give evidence of the fact that the government of the mother-country of the United States was unkind in turn to nonconformists, to Episcopalian Puritans, and to Catholics. There was also in England great economic distress, on the part of merchants, deprived, by monopolies, of their trade, and on the part of manufacturers, of clergymen, of farmers, and of wage-earners, because of the agitations and struggles of those times when fundamental questions of government, of religion, of morality, of property, and of private justice were rudely asserting their right to be answered.

At such a time Charles II., the third Stuart King, who had "come to his own," without either capacity or intent to rule wisely and honestly for the good of his people, decided to grant to certain "right

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trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors," all the unsettled land that was left of the English claims in America. These were the Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Albemarle, who had rendered great assistance to Charles in his efforts to recover the throne; Lord Berkeley, who like Clarendon had been the companion of Charles in his exile, and also his brother, Governor William Berkeley of Virginia; the Earl of Craven, the commander of the army of the King; Sir John Colleton, who had spent his fortune in the Stuart cause; Governor Carteret of the Isle of Jersey; Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Earl of Shaftesbury. The sole purpose of the King in making this grant was to benefit his friends; and since royal gratitude is uncommon, we may commend him for the action. Governor Berkeley of Virginia was commissioned to act as governor of the colony. Already, upon the Chowan river, in the northeastern part of the grant, there had been established, in 1653, a settlement consisting mostly of Quakers driven from Virginia. Roger Green was the founder of this settlement, which came to be known as Albemarle. The new settlement of Clarendon was soon made near Cape Fear, in 1664. Next year, 1665, the original Carolina grant was extended to embrace 29° north latitude to 36° 30′. In 1669, an important colony was established upon the Ashley river, and in the following year Old Charleston was founded at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers.

The Proprietors

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In April of the year of the Restoration, Charles, guided by his tutor and friend, Edward Hyde, who soon afterwards became the Earl of Clarendon, and by others older and wiser than himself, had published, from his asylum of refuge at Breda, in North Brabant in the Netherlands, a declaration in which he promised that "no man should be disquieted for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the realm." This principle, very familiar in Holland, for which several of the earlier English colonies in America were struggling, was a cornerstone of the building of the Carolinas. Laws were to be made "by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen." The colony was a palatinate, in most respects like Maryland.

In 1669, the "unalterable Constitutions" were begun. These were devised by the Earl of Shaftesbury, that famous Anthony Ashley Cooper, whose initial A appears in the word "Cabal." They were originated in 1667 after the death of Clarendon, and were prepared in literary form by his private secretary, the immortal philosopher, John Locke, than whom no other philosopher ever did a worse piece of work in an attempt at constructive statesmanship. There is, however, no evidence that he really approved of the Constitutions, though he doubtless acquiesced in the political theory of his employer. Compared with these Constitutions, the feudal scheme of fantastic, though doubtless fascinating Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Don Quixote of New England settlement, were

The Grand Model

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sane and timely. The Carolina Constitutions were so elaborate as to require several years of preparation,—1669–81, and 1698. In substance, they were designed to establish, upon the soil of the New World, the feudalism which had been destroyed, in fact, in the Wars of the Roses, and whose legal existence had finally ended in England at the beginning of the reign of this very King Charles. Though these Constitutions were never accepted in the Carolinas, they affected vitally the course of our Southern history, for the settlers studied them diligently that they might safely and effectively disobey them. Some of their provisions are read with peculiar interest at the present time. They were a covenant between the proprietors of the "county palatine, as large and ample as the county palatine of Durham," who hoped thereby to "avoid erecting a numerous democracy." Under the palatine, there were to be seven chief officers: admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief justice, steward, to be selected from the proprietors themselves. Article III. declares: "The whole province shall be divided into counties; each county shall consist of eight signories, eight baronies, and four precincts; each precinct shall consist of six colonies." Provision was next made for an "hereditary nobility," and for "landgraves" and "cassiques" among the proprietors. In Article XVI. we hear the echo of feudalism in the terms "manors" and "courtleets." Article XXII. is very significant:

"In every signory, barony, and manor, all the leet-men shall be under the jurisdiction of the respective lords . . . without appeal from him. Nor shall any leet-man, or leet-

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woman, have liberty to go off from the land of their particular lord, and live anywhere else, without license obtained from their said lord, under hand and seal."

With the lessons of the Black Death and the Statute of Laborers, as well as of the legislation in the times of Henry VIII., this was a singular provision. Article XXIII. runs on all fours with its anachronistic declaration, "All the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations." There were to be a "grand council," "seven colleges," a "parliament," a "palatine's court," a "chancellor's court," and other and lesser courts. Article XLV. has a curious mediæval twang:

"The chamberlain's court . . . shall have the care of all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials, and marriages, legitimation, and all cases concerning matrimony, or arising from it; and shall have power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games and sports. . . . The twelve assistants belonging to this court shall be called provosts."

This was only a part of the plan for a colony with scarcely any population as yet. The numerous "Constitutions" proceeded to make landed property a prerequisite for jury service, "but the verdict shall be according to the consent of the majority." This, like other features of these amazing documents, is not the law yet. Article LXX. announces that "It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward." Evidently, paid lawyers were unpopular. Unlike the English system, members of the Carolina Parliament must be landowners in the "precinct," holding at least five hundred acres. Only the owners

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of at least fifty acres could vote. There were to be four estates in parliament: lords proprietors, landgraves, cassiques, and precinct-members. Article XCV. declared, "No man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped." The next article, disapproved by Locke, established the Church of England as "the only true and orthodox" religion. It is declared to be "the national religion of all the King's dominions, . . . and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance, by grant of parliament." There follow several elaborate articles tolerating all religions, and enforcing some religion. Article CI. reads: "No person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of honor or profit who is not a member of some church . . ." In a community consisting largely of dissenters this Article was a clarion note of challenge. Article CIX. asserts, "Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever." The last Articles of this draft, 1669, of the Fundamental Constitutions provided for subscription to them as the sign of allegiance and as the mode of naturalization and for the permanence of them as "the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever." Such was the Grand Model, that strange echo of mediævalism.

The Carolinas were never entirely ruled by the Fundamental Constitutions for so much as a single

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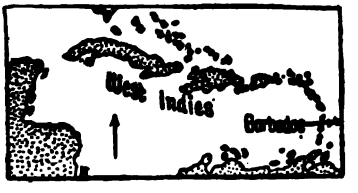
day. Notwithstanding which fact, they played as large a part in her history as did the "Fundamental Orders" in the history of Connecticut. Opposition is as strong an element in human development, social or individual, as is obedience.

The Settlers

The Carolinas were settled by what may be termed "secondary" colonization, most of the people coming from Virginia, New England, and Barbados. They had already learned something of the freedom of New World life and were not very likely to welcome the proposed government of the lords proprietors. Already a trade had grown up by which rum, molasses, salt, and sugar were carried from the West Indies to the Carolinas, where tobacco was secured for carriage by water to Massachusetts, and this was used to purchase lumber and cattle for the West Indies. The navigation laws were not often regarded seriously by sailors who were, upon occasion, pirates. In 1665, one John Davis, a pirate, sacked St. Augustine, in Florida. Later, it was one of the grievances of the people of the Carolinas against the lords proprietors, that they would not allow reprisals against pirates who took refuge upon Spanish soil. Charleston itself was a popular rendezvous for pirates and buccaneers. This latter part of the seventeenth century was, indeed, the "Golden Age of piracy." In North Carolina, it was not, however, an age of irreligion. The Quakers were still in the proselytizing stage of the development of their sect, and were very active. In 1683, a



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colony of Baptists from Maine settled on Cooper river in South Carolina. In 1686, Massachusetts sent from Dorchester a body of Congregationalists who settled near the head of Ashley river. There were also in the Carolinas Scotch and French Huguenot immigrants. Motley as was indeed the population of Rhode Island, with its men of all manner of opinions, and cosmopolitan as New York certainly was, the Carolinas surpassed all other colonies in those alien and jarring elements whose attempted mixture so often results in chaos.

North and South Carolina

The region of the two Carolinas was first called Carolina in honor of the boy-King Charles IX. of France. The name continued until its renewal in honor of Charles II. of England. From the very beginning of the rule of the lords proprietors a north district, Albemarle, and a south district, Clarendon, had been recognized with separate governments. Already, Carolina had been a battle-ground between France and Spain, as appeared earlier in this narrative. Here, had been the scene of the ill-fated experiments of Raleigh. Here, in the last decades of the seventeenth century, Old World feudalism battled with New World democracy. And here in the eighteenth century, was to be the struggle between the English and the Spanish. The name was to cover two diverse colonies, for North Carolina and South Carolina were to be more unlike than any other adjacent English colonies in America. Population in North Carolina tended to small towns, but that in South Carolina to one city. North Carolina received her settlers from the farming class, South Carolina from the commercial. The one de-

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veloped small farms, the other great plantations. The one was chiefly inland, the other chiefly upon the coast. North Carolina never had a great proportion of Negro slaves; but even before 1700, South Carolina had more black than white people. We hear

something of the music of pure democracy in the provision of 1669, passed by the North Carolina legislature, by which no settler was to be liable at law for any debt contracted elsewhere until five years had passed. In an age of common imprisonment for debt, this provision amounted virtually to an invitation to the harassed poor to immigrate, an invitation that found ready acceptance among many.

The political history of North Carolina is a history of development under neglect by the lords proprietors, who kept a deputy governor there most of the time. The history of South Carolina is a history that consists chiefly of

Aristocracy and Democracy

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unpleasant disputes and riots, due in part to popular resistance against incompetent and corrupt governors, and in part to the discordant elements in the population. The summary banishment of Governor James Colleton of South Carolina, in 1690, for malfeasance in office, was an echo of the English Revolution of 1688. In 1693, the proprietors gave up all idea of enforcing their Fundamental Constitutions, and the *de facto* popular assembly was placed formally in control. The century closed with Quaker governors successively in authority, with general religious toleration of all Protestant Christians, not excepting Huguenots, with political and economic democracy throughout North Carolina, and with political democracy and economic aristocracy entrenched at Charleston, in South Carolina. Here, upon a new site, in 1680, was established a community of wealthy traders, who by 1700 were living in town, but owned great slave-worked plantations, located inland. The destiny of South Carolina by this time was already indicated. It remained for the next two hundred years to disclose that destiny, upon the vast and crowded stage of American history.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE QUAKERS IN NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, AND DELAWARE

1672–1697

A HISTORY of the latter half of the seventeenth century in the English colonies in America, from the point of view of the great and successful religious movement of the Friends, commonly called the Quakers, could scarcely avoid being both interesting and profitable to the reader. This singular body of Christians, without creed, ritual, priesthood, or sacrament, did not spring into being solely from the preaching of only one enthusiast, George Fox, as is sometimes supposed, but, like all other historical creations, had its origin in antecedent conditions of life. The Friends of England held substantially the views of the Mennonites of the Continent, who were themselves sprung from the Anabaptists. The father of George Fox was a weaver, and the weavers derived their art (and often also their ancestry) from the Netherlands. Their very doctrine of "the sufficiency of the inner light" was but another form of the doctrine of "soul-liberty," held by the Dutch scholar, Roger Williams, who was in England during the time of the earliest appearance

The Friends

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of Quakerism. Their popular name, Quakers, was given to them by Judge Bennett of Derby, because they bade the people "tremble at the word of the Lord" spoken in their own hearts. So mighty was their preaching that upon many occasions converts fell trembling and fainting in the midst of the crowds assembled to hear the leaders. They organized a great missionary movement, and sent preachers as far as to Adrianople, to Jerusalem, to the West Indies, and to the English colonies upon the continent of North America. They called themselves the "Children of Light," and held literally to the commands of Jesus Christ, such as, "Resist not evil," "Judge not," "Swear not at all," and "Love your enemies." They had visions of a millennial age, when the "King of Love" should rule the world in peace.

Penn

To these people came William Penn, in 1668, to be a political as well as a religious leader. He was the son of an English sea-adventurer who, soon after the boy's birth, became an Admiral of England. His mother was Margaret Jasper, daughter of John Jasper, a rich merchant of Rotterdam, Holland. Half English, half Dutch, William Penn presented a character marked by complexity without a trace of moral duplicity. He was like a diamond cut with many facets, and crystal clear. He was philosopher and business man, preacher and courtier, democrat and aristocrat, philanthropist and adventurer, all in one. His nature was tranquil, buoyant, enthusiastic, and practical. An Oxford student for two years, a youthful traveler in France, heir to estates in Ireland and England worth fifteen hundred pounds a year (a great sum in those days),

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well married early in life, he came upon the stage of English colonial history in America to be next to the last of the great founders of the thirteen original States. We are glad to remember him with John Smith, William Bradford, John Winthrop, Peter Minuit, Thomas Hooker, Leonard Calvert, and Roger Williams; that goodly company of the immortals who wrought well for America in the days of the seventeenth century. Among all the successful colonizers of America, this Quaker leader held by far the most interesting position in the Old World. His religious associates were under the ban of English law. Thousands were in prison, suffering for conscience' sake. A mere enumeration of their legal troubles and of their religious controversies with other Christians would require many pages in this narrative. Yet as Leonard Calvert, the Roman Catholic, was politically successful in the time of the Puritan Commonwealth, so William Penn was successful in the time of Charles II. and of James II. The Revolution of 1688, which brought William III. from Holland, gave to the Quakers, as to all other dissenters, the first important relief.

Such were the people and the leader who were to establish the first well-planned city upon the American continent. Not until a century afterwards, was another city planned and established with equal wisdom and artistic judgment. Philadelphia was born in the mind of a man who was more at home in Holland than in England, as Washington was planned by a native of France temporarily sojourning in America. And Holland, despite a certain lowering of tone, due to a great influx of foreigners,

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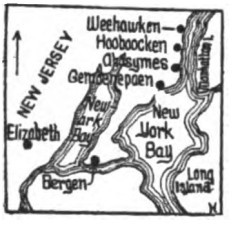
to the injury done her trade and her people by the Thirty Years' War, and to the vulgarizing influences of a sea-trade extending from Russia to England, America, India, and the East Indies, was still the country in all the world the most advanced in art, in morality, in culture, in statesmanship, in business and manufacture, in social grace, and in philanthropy. From his English blood Penn derived that surpassing energy which enabled him to reap the fruits of many earlier colonial enterprises.

New Jersey

The details of the early history of New Jersey, when the region was a part of New Netherland and the scene of Swedish colonization, are unknown and are not likely ever to be discovered. The Dutch established trading posts, perhaps as early as 1610, and certainly as early as 1614, and made thorough explorations of the entire region which soon had settlements here and there, chiefly as the result of "secondary colonization." The first settlement may have been at Bergen as early as 1617, (or even earlier, for no man knows); but at Gloucester river, in 1623, Cornelius Mey certainly made a settlement. This was followed by others in various parts of the country. The people prospered as fur-traders, farmers, and fishermen. Of the struggle between the Swedes and the Dutch we have heard in an earlier chapter of this narrative. By 1664, upon New York bay there were five little towns,—Hooboocken, Ahasymes, Bergen, Gemoenepaen, and Weehawken. That was the year when Colonel Robert Nicolls, who had stopped at Boston



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en route, seized New Netherland. Next year, largely as the result of public advertisement of the attractions of "Albania," as New Jersey was then called, a town was established upon Newark bay. Other settlers secured tracts upon the Passaic river, forming a land company to buy the tract from the Indian owners. However, King James, for a "competent sum of money" had already sold the region to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, of whom we have heard as among the lords proprietors of the Carolinas. A dispute immediately arose as to whether the new proprietors or Nicolls conveyed the legal title to the land. Carteret was governor of Jersey, and to him the King was especially grateful, because his island was the last English soil to surrender to the arms of Parliament, an event that occurred in 1649. He immediately called the palatinate New Jersey (a corrupt form of Nova Cæsarea). The new governor, Philip Carteret, son of the proprietor, established a representative assembly and the toleration of all Christian denominations, and gave a goodly freehold to every family, upon the rent-charge of a penny an acre, payable five years later. The colony on Newark bay was named Elizabeth Town in honor of the wife of Sir George Carteret.

The oath of allegiance then demanded is recorded in a contemporary document of singular, though not profound, interest: the spelling is delightfully free and easy, reminding us of the famous "Ducke off Yorke" phrase, recorded in a Connecticut document of the same period. This oath began as follows:

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"Oath of A Leagance and Fidelity: You doe suare upon the Holy Evangelist contained in this book to bare true faith and Alegiance to our Soveraing Lord King Charles and his successors and to be true and faithfull to the Lords propryetors their Successors and the government of this Province of New Jarsey. . . ."

These good people could not spell, but they could build a meeting-house where Puritans, Catholics, and Anglicans worshiped in rotation upon the Sabbaths, and where the one town-officer transacted the public business upon the week-days. Settlement progressed rapidly. From Connecticut, came many people who thought that Puritanism there was decadent. New Jersey was indeed in all the world the last stronghold of Puritan theocracy. In 1666, Newark ("Newworke on the Pishawack River," as it was then styled) was settled, and so named in honor of the English birthplace of the minister, the Reverend Abram Pearson. Men from Massachusetts and New Hampshire settled south of Newark bay. In 1667, the Quakers, then growing very rapidly in numbers both in England and in America, settled Shrewsbury, perhaps the first town anywhere that was controlled by the sect. In 1668, Carteret called a General Assembly of all the freeholders of the province. Soon afterwards, a violent storm arose, because of the attempt of the proprietors to collect their rent. In 1773, for a brief period of fourteen months, New Jersey was again under Dutch rule. This was during the period when the Dutch navy drove the English merchant marine from the high seas. Through these

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and other changes and troubles, New Jersey prospered. Suddenly, without warning, the people found themselves, in 1676, divided into two districts, East and West Jersey, a division confirmed, in 1679, shortly after the death of Carteret.

In 1681, East Jersey was bought by an association of English and Scotch Quakers and Presbyterians. The first governor was Robert Barclay, one of the literary lights of the Quaker sect; he sent out a Quaker lawyer to rule the colony. A period of great enterprise followed. Many Scotch Presbyterians fled to New Jersey for refuge from the awful persecutions of King James. Andrew Hamilton next became governor-resident in America. He was a merchant and lawyer, and later became governor of West Jersey as well. In 1697, the great dispute over the validity of land-titles caused a dispersion of the people into new and hitherto unsettled regions. Meanwhile, West Jersey, begun as such in 1674, came into the sole possession of the Quakers, prominent among whom was William Penn.

East Jersey

Soon after this purchase, the Friends published their *Fundamental Laws of West Jersey*. They declared that

West Jersey

"no man . . . hath power over conscience. . . . The General Assembly shall be chosen, not by the confused way of cries and voices, but by the ballot-box. Every man is capable to choose or be chosen. . . . Each member is to be allowed one shilling a day to be paid by his immediate constituents that he may be known as the servant of the people. . . . No one can be imprisoned for debt."

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Not long afterwards, the first free-school fund in America was provided by these Quakers, by a grant of the rent from an island in the Delaware, opposite Burlington. Everywhere there was progress, along the lines of Dutch theory and practice. A large immigration resulted, as was inevitable, for population follows the star of liberty. Yet the immigration was not that desired by Penn and the other Quaker leaders, for the elements that were not Quaker were largely in the majority. In the meantime, however, Pennsylvania had been established, and upon it was being concentrated the enthusiasm of the sect.

Pennsylvania

The new colony, like Maryland, the Carolinas, and the Jerseys, was a palatinate. Though founded as late as 1682, it was the product rather of primary than of secondary settlement, resembling in this respect Virginia, New Netherland, Massachusetts, and Maryland. In the movement of its colonization, the religious motive was united with the economic, as in the case of New Haven. The region of Pennsylvania and "the Territories" of Delaware had already been occupied. A considerable part of the new province had been first occupied by the Dutch and next by the Swedes, and with the rest of New Netherland had come into the possession of the English in 1664, with a later temporary interruption of their sovereignty by the return of Dutch control in 1673. Upland, afterwards named Chester, had been a thriving settlement since 1640. In 1682, when Penn took possession, there were more than two thousand settlers, in a dozen towns and villages. The people were Dutch, Swedes, and Finns, many of them American born in the

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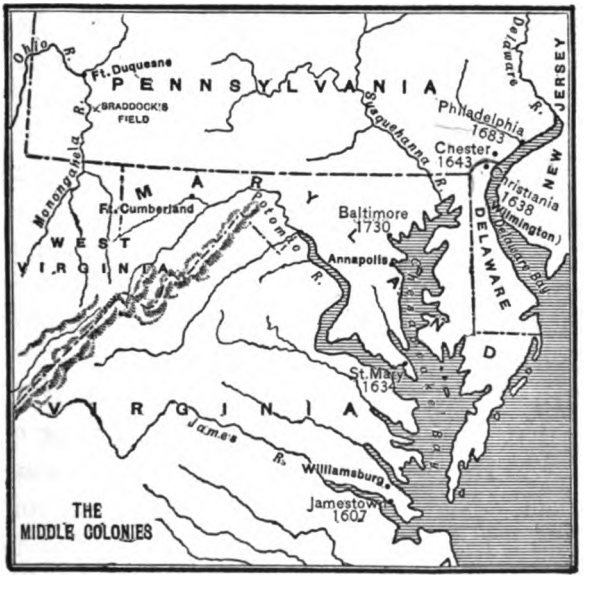
second and even in third generations, and newly arrived English Friends.

William Penn was no doubt a religious zealot, for he preached for some years in Holland as a regular leader of the Quakers; but he was also a creditor who could not forget that Charles II. owed his father some sixteen thousand pounds. This great debt was due in part for unpaid salary as admiral in the service



of the Crown, and in part for loans to the King for his personal use. In pursuit of his lifelong purpose to make politics serve religion, William Penn, Junior, following in the footsteps of his father, always persisted in attendance at Court. "I have made it," said he, in 1688, "my province and business; I have followed and pressed it; I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years."

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The modern American court is the party committee and primary; and it would be well for this nation were good men of the same mind and practice at the the present time! On his part, Charles had always thought well of the Penns. In consequence, when the Quaker politician-courtier applied for a grant of wild lands back from the sea in far-away America, in full discharge of the disagreeable obligation, he had little difficulty in securing the concession, together with a release from the Duke of York, also the friend of his father, quitclaiming Pennsylvania and conveying Delaware. It was a very royal gift, a domain equal to all England, by far the most valuable region in the New World for its mineral wealth, that was, however, not to be discovered for generations to come. This royal gift Penn proposed to use for the "holy experiment" of establishing a colony of refuge for Friends, such as Massachusetts had been for Puritans and Maryland for Catholics.

For the government of the colony, he established the "Great Fundamental" and the "Frame of Government" in which certain passages, of vital concern in American colonial development, may well be pondered.

Government

"In reverence to God, the father of light . . . I do . . . declare . . . that every person that doth and shall reside there shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God."

He constituted the government in a "Governor," a "Provincial Council" of seventy-two persons, and a

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"General Assembly" of from two hundred to five hundred persons. The Council was to be elected by the Assembly; this was a very democratic innovation in America. The governor had no veto, but only a "treble voice." "Twelfth. . . . the governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all publick schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions. . . ." Here spoke the voice of the free public schools in Holland. There are not, even to-day, in England free public schools.

The next provision created a board of censors such as Rome had and such as China now has:

> "Thirteenth. . . . for the better management . . . aforesaid, the Provincial Council shall from time to time divide itself into four distinct and proper committees. . . . Secondly, a committee of justice and safety, to secure the peace of the province, and punish the male-administration of those who subvert justice to the prejudice of the publick or private interest. . . . And fourthly, a committee of manners, education and arts, that all wicked and scandalous living maybe prevented, and that youth maybe successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts. . . ."

In 1682, Delaware was incorporated with Pennsylvania, and in 1684, a new "Frame" was adopted. By it the numbers of the members in the Council and Assembly were decreased to eighteen and thirty-six respectively. By neither Frame could any member be re-elected without the intermission of at least one year out of office: "That so, all that are Capable and Qualified as aforesaid may be fitted for government and have a share of the care and burthen of it." This provision was the same as that in the

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Connecticut constitution and was derived from Holland.

"Twelfth. That the Governour or his Deputie shall att no time therein perform anie publick act of State whatsoever that shall or may relate unto the Justice, Trade Treasury, or Safetie of the Province and Territories aforesaid, but by and with the advice and consent of the Provinciall Council thereof.'

The last Article provided that an unconstitutional law was void unless passed by a vote of six out. seven. To this day, no Act of Parliament in England can be unconstitutional when passed by a majority of the members of both Houses. This feature of the constitutionality of laws was derived from the Roman law by way of France and Holland. We see a trace of the new French influences in what was then the new spelling of "Governour." Penn himself spoke both French and Dutch fluently.

Other features of the provisions of Penn for the government of his palatinate were these:

All children were to be taught useful trades. All law-affairs were to be recorded in as few words as possible. (Penn had studied law and like nearly all other Englishmen of the seventeenth century, had a hearty hatred of the "common law.") The purpose of all punishment was to be reformatory and not merely vindictive. Only two crimes were to be capital. All prisons were to be workhouses. (Penn knew the horrible English prisons, for he had been confined many times, once even in London Tower itself. Only his friends at court saved him.) No oath was to be required.

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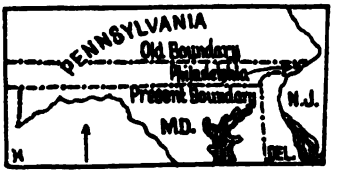
The first of the new immigrants arrived in 1681. Three thousand came over in 1682. Of one hundred passengers in the ship that carried Penn himself, thirty died of smallpox,—not an unusual incident. Of his own private wealth, we catch a glimpse in the brick mansion built upon "Pennsbury Manor," at a cost of seven thousand pounds. Probably in June, 1683, the famous Indian treaty was arranged at Shackamaxon, an old town. At this meeting, Penn displayed his diplomacy not only by his speech but by his actions, for he danced with the Indians more gaily, it is said, than any other man present. Next year, he went to England to be absent fifteen years. Various disputes arose, of which the worst related to the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. As between the proprietors, this was not settled until 1732. Mason and Dixon settled it between the colonies in 1767. As for Penn himself, in England, he was the new King's friend, for James ruled from 1684 to 1688. He went upon an embassy to William in Holland, who later became William III. of England. For a time, suffering from political persecution, for he honestly believed in the Stuarts, he lost his proprietorship and was forced into hiding for three years to avoid imprisonment. Nor was this the fault of King William, but rather that of sore misunderstandings, in an age when every good and active man was trying to solve the problem of religious toleration.

Personal History



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In this period, William Penn, who was always writing some book or pamphlet, issued his *Plan for the Peace of Europe*, by the sending from each nation of "stated deputies" to meet

A Parliament of the World

"in a general Diet, Estates or Parliament and there establish rules of justice for sovereign princes to observe one to another; and thus to meet yearly, or once in two or three years at the farthest, or as they shall see cause, and to be stiled, The Sovereign or Imperial Diet, Parliament, or State of Europe: before which Sovereign Assembly should be brought all differences depending between one sovereign and another . . . ; if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof and seek their remedy by arms or delay their compliance beyond the time prefixt in their resolutions, all other sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties that obliged their submission; . . . peace would be procured and continued in Europe."

Such was one of the grandiose ideas of the founder of Pennsylvania, a man centuries ahead of even the present time. The marvel is that he kept afloat at all in the stormy days of Commonwealth, Restoration, and Revolution. William Penn was more than cosmopolitan for he was human. The people of northwestern Europe eagerly followed his banner of religious liberty, so that the province which numbered two thousand souls in 1680, had seven thousand in 1684, and probably over thirty thousand in 1700. He loved all men, especially James Stuart. He trusted men too much and was defrauded by his own confidential agents. He

A Philanthropist

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looked upon the Indians as reasonable men; sent money to distressed Germans, to help them to come to his colony; imported a whole body of Mennonites from Holland; wrote letters of Christian advice to sovereigns, including the distant King of Poland; addressed Charles and James as "thou," and was as much at home among cobblers and tailors as among princes and lords. He sacrificed his well-beloved first wife and his first family of seven children to his great labors as a colonizer; but two of the children survived him, one of them a moral failure, as the father sadly said, because of neglect during his stay in America. The second family of six children became his heirs, when he himself died, in 1718, at the ripe old age of seventy-four. William Penn would have been successful in any nation of Teutonic blood in modern times, for he had the openness of the modern mind. He had great and admirable talent; his qualities of poise, of imagination, of soberness, of business, remind us of our own Washington and Franklin. In this twentieth century, substantially all of us in America are in full accord with his theories and practice of government, of religion, and of social life.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE LAST DECADES OF THE CENTURY IN VIRGINIA, NEW YORK, AND NEW ENGLAND

The Old Dominion

THE great man of Virginia in the third quarter of the seventeenth century was Governor William Berkeley, of whom we have heard frequently in the earlier chapters of this narrative. He was a man of uncommon energy,—this fiery Cavalier in velvet, silk, lace, and gold. In the very year of the Restoration, he was made governor again, holding this time by vote of the Burgesses, an act promptly ratified by Charles. From this time the province, always at heart loyal to the Stuarts, became known as the "Old Dominion," the fourth division of the realm, which consisted of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia, for France was no longer claimed. In 1663, began the serious persecution of the Quakers, who were fined for not going to the services of the Established Church, and whose acquaintances were fined for receiving them into their houses. It was illegal for any shipmaster to bring them into the colony, and not even those already settlers, once leaving the colony, though but for a visit, could return. The Baptists, another sect that grew out of the Dutch Mennonites, were also persecuted. The Baptists were a majority

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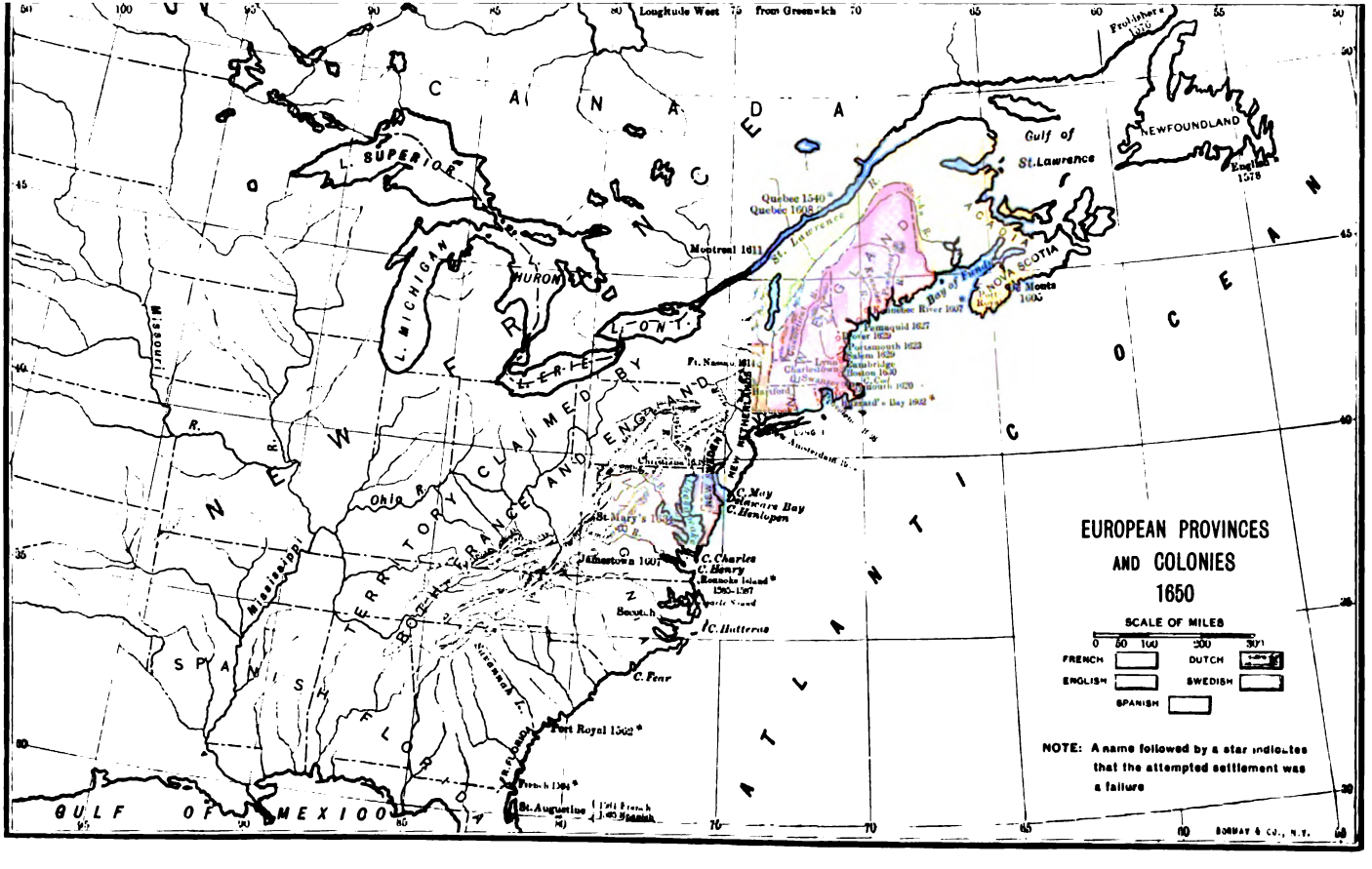

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of those Independents who, as soldiers, had made the Ironsides and New Model so terrible in battle. Those in Virginia were fined two thousand pounds of tobacco for every child that they refused to take to a lawful minister for baptism.

In 1655, when the Commonwealth's men were in control, they had limited the franchise to "housekeepers." That act, repealed in 1656, was re-enacted in 1670. This was done because of the tumult made when all freemen were allowed to vote, for the voting was *viva voce*, not by ballot, as in Holland and in the colonies whose laws were made under the influence of that republic. In 1670, there were some forty thousand people in Virginia, ruled by a governor and sixteen "Councillors," under his Majesty's commission, and by a "Grand Assembly of Burgesses," two from each county. All laws were subject to the approval of the Lord Chancellor of England.

In his account of the colony Sir William Berkeley wrote,

"I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing had divulged them, and libels against the best governments. God keep us from both." **Governor Berkeley**

In this decidedly vigorous but scarcely grammatical English, the governor but expressed the common Virginian opinion that the times of James I. and Charles I., which he remembered with the illusions of youth, and in which wealth grew almost as fast as discontent, were really "good old times." A considerable majority of all the people in Virginia were

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old soldiers and supporters of King Charles, and many of the rest were bond-servants, white and black.

And yet the clouds of discontent were gathering in Virginia, and in 1676, the lurid storm broke. The moving cause of the "Great Rebellion" was the rigorous enforcement of the trade laws by which the Virginians could trade only with England, in English ships, manned by Englishmen. There were heavy export and import duties, whose proceeds were stolen by the host of collectors. The price of tobacco fell continuously, and Virginia was in great financial distress.

Bacon's Rebellion

Even worse than this oppression was the grant, in 1673, of all Virginia, excepting lands already held by valid titles, to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper as proprietors. They were to place ministers in the Church and officers in the Government. This grant aroused the ire of all colonists and never became effective. Other causes were operative. Berkeley refused to protect the frontier settlements against Indian attack, fearing lest the settlers, being already in arms, might turn against the Government. Many freemen had recently been disfranchised, as we have seen. Servants, released from indentures by the completion of the term, usually seven years, found it hard to buy land or to get work with wages. In 1662, the vestries of Virginia, whose members hitherto had been elected by the voters of the parishes, became self-perpetuating "close corporations." In many counties, these vestries determined matters that, in New England, were determined by town-meetings, such as local taxes and appoint-

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ments to office. There was, in the "Old Dominion," a decided tendency to levy taxes upon polls rather than upon property, which is always a heavy burden to the poor. In addition to all these grievances, the General Assembly, being composed of members who were satisfactory to Berkeley, began in 1661 to adjourn from year to year in the fashion of the Long Parliament. The result was that public opinion found no way to express itself in legislation.

To all this inflammable material Nathaniel Bacon, a recent English arrival, then perhaps twenty-eight years of age, set the match. A terrible conflagration resulted. This Bacon was a man of parts and of high social position, already a member of the Council. A natural politician and orator, reckless, energetic, he became a great popular leader. When the Indians killed his own plantation overseer, he asked Governor Berkeley for a commission to raise troops against them. The commission was refused; nevertheless, Bacon pressed forward and completely defeated the Indians, killing one hundred and fifty and losing but three men. Immediately thereafter, a new Assembly of Burgesses was elected, with Bacon among the members. What followed properly belongs in that part of the narrative which deals with war. The result, after the collapse of the rebellion, when Bacon died of dysentery and fever contracted in that plague-spot, Jamestown, then called "James Citie," was a revel of blood, for Berkeley was angry as only a strong old man can be: the leaders, some twenty-three in all, were executed in short order. Charles II. said of him, "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I have done

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for the murder of my father." The estates of so many were confiscated that, for very fear of his enemies, Berkeley sailed away to England, where he died, in 1677, of a broken heart, since not even the King, whom he meant to serve, would forgive his ruthless cruelty. It was a strange ending to so brilliant and, on the whole, so fortunate a career.

The Various Later Governors

The next governor was Sir Herbert Jeffries, who found the people sullen but obedient. He stayed but a year, as did the governor after him, Sir Henry Chicheley. Thomas Lord Culpeper came in 1679; but he did not try to take proprietary possession according to the terms of his grant. Lord Howard of Effingham arrived in 1684, as did the news of the accession of James II. During this time, Virginia was wonderfully excited for fear lest the Papists overthrow the Established Church of England. In 1690, Effingham, who had gone to England, was represented by a deputy governor, Francis Nicholson, who had been governor in New York, and, later, was governor of Maryland. No man had a more interesting official career in English America. Nicholson was a fiery democrat and by no means popular in aristocratic Virginia; but his very unpopularity stirred his political enemy, James Blair, to go to England and, by the greatest efforts, to secure a charter for the second college in America, William and Mary, founded in 1693, at Williamstown. From 1672 to 1698, Sir Edmund Andros was governor in Virginia, after his exciting experience as governor of New England.

Of other matters in Virginia in the last two decades of the seventeenth century it is profitable to

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note these: that a single printing-press was established in 1682, under a severe censorship, with an absolute monopoly upon all printing; that many of the rebels of Monmouth's rebellion were transported to Virginia, perhaps two hundred in all (Penn bought twenty for his colony); and that the Huguenots began to come to the province in 1690. At the close of the century, Virginia, with her system of primogeniture, with her Established Church and persecuted dissenters, with her five classes of people,—freeholders and leaseholders, freed servants, transported felons and rebels, white bond-servants, and black slaves,—with her widely scattered population, with her marked economic dependence upon a single product, tobacco, with her genteel planters and rough 'longshoremen and oystermen, represented the extreme of aristocratic society in English colonial America. And there were no free public schools and scarcely any private schools to modify the tendency toward an oligarchy based upon private property. The total population of the province numbered perhaps seventy-five thousand souls.

The Social System in Virginia

In the North, in New York province, the last generation of the people of the seventeenth century saw much history made. In 1664, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy-governor-to-be, seized New Amsterdam for the English Crown. It was still but a small town, of fifteen hundred people. The whole province had but ten thousand. The King could easily overwhelm New Netherland with militia from New England, Maryland, and Virginia. By this

New York

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surrender, the Atlantic coast of North America became English from Maine to Carolina, an essential step in the progress of the colonists toward national union. We need not fancy that the event was wholly deplorable. Dutch rule had not been what Dutch ideals and even Dutch practice at home would lead reasonable men to expect. In 1657, Governor Stuyvesant had issued a proclamation, fining any person who entertained a Quaker for a single night fifty pounds, one half to go to the informer, and forbidding the landing of any Quaker from shipboard under penalty of the confiscation of the ship. The governor hoped thereby both to keep Quakers out of the town, and to get some money from the fines and confiscations. Piracy flourished in Long Island sound, as indeed it did all along the coast; but New Amsterdam was a rendezvous for pirates, such as Charleston became later in the century. The government was a tyranny, and individual citizens had few well-established rights. With liberty and justice, in 1664, New Amsterdam would have been a large city. Already Boston, despite its imperfect freedom, and less desirable location, had four times as many people. That it was not altogether gain for New Netherland to be transferred to the English may be inferred from the fact that all the historical dates must be transposed, for Holland had adopted the modern and now almost universal calendar year centuries before the scholarship of England was sufficient to overcome the prejudices of Parliament. The real gain came

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from that greatest of all causes of progress, the conflict of two different historical forces, for in New York thereafter Dutch society met English society shoulder to shoulder, and the jostling together was good for both.

Governor Nicolls took possession of Fort Orange at Beaverwyck and changed the name to Albany in honor of James Stuart, for the Duke of York was also Earl of Albany in the Irish peerage. The next year, studying closely the codes of law of Massachusetts and New Haven, he prepared a code for New York and called it "The Duke's Laws." These combined the Virginia county system with the New England town-meeting, and gave to American local government the genesis of its unique character. The towns were to elect by a "plurality of the voices of the freeholders" (not by ballot, unfortunately) a body of officials consisting of a constable and eight overseers, with judicial and legislative as well as executive powers. This board was to govern the town, whereas in New England the town-meeting instructed the officers who must obey its democratic authority. The towns were associated as "ridings" under a sheriff; in 1683, the "ridings" became counties. All the general laws for the province were to be made by the duke himself, who governed through a deputy governor and council. The religious liberty of all professing Christians was complete. The Dutch Court of Assizes was confirmed; but the Dutch mode of governing the town of New York was changed to the English mode of mayor and aldermen.

The Duke's Laws

Governor Nicolls was notably successful in his

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relations with the Indians. But in general the colony did not greatly prosper during his time, for the wars in Europe on land and sea reduced immigration and restricted commerce. France was fighting the Barbary pirates, and Austria, with help from France, was fighting the Turks. War was waged between Holland and England for several years, with several tremendous naval battles. In 1665, the Great Plague broke out in London, and in 1666, the awful fire swept through the city, completing its ruin. All these portentous troubles, together with the local misunderstandings and disappointments that grew out of the change of sovereignty, made the period of the governorship of the excellent Nicolls a time of but little progress in the affairs of New York. After him, Colonel Francis Lovelace became governor and continued in office until the Dutch seized New York in 1673 and held it for more than a year. This reoccupation gave great delight to the Dutch people in the colony. There were about seven thousand of these in the province, and some four thousand persons of other nationalities, mostly English. The rest were Huguenots, Waldenses, Lutherans, Swedes, Finns, Swiss, Norse, Danes, Bohemians, Prussians, and Negroes. The total value of the estates of all the residents who were worth over a thousand guilders was reported by Governor Colve as being five hundred and twenty thousand guilders. The States-General surrendered their claim to New Netherland in 1674 by the Treaty of Westminster; and it shows the uncertainty of the mails of the time that their High Mightinesses did not know, when they signed

The Dutch Reoccupation

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the treaty, that their navy had actually reconquered the province.

Over the cosmopolitan and tolerant population then in New York, Sir Edmund Andros was sent to rule. The history of the government of this vigorous man is substantially all that is important in the history of New York and of New England, with regard to their political affairs, during the last part of the seventeenth century. Andros was a man of excellent personal qualities and of blameless private life. In 1674, when New York was once more taken into the possession of England, this major in Prince Rupert's regiment of dragoons, which had served brilliantly in the Dutch-English conflict, was about thirty-seven years of age and held office as bailiff in the Isle of Guernsey, and as commander of the forces of the King in Barbadoes. Andros came out to America with a new patent by which King Charles, being without an heir, again conveyed to his brother James, Duke of York, heir-apparent, the splendid dominion of the Dutch, from whose resources a regal revenue was expected.

Andros and English Rule

The new governor began with a brusque severity that must have reminded the oldest inhabitants of the days of Peter Stuyvesant. He punished poor John Manning, commander of the little fort at the Battery, who surrendered to the Dutch, by breaking his sword over his head publicly, before the city hall, and by declaring him incapable of ever holding again any office of trust. The new governor dealt with all mutinous persons vigorously. He was, indeed, an active

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man, landing in force at Saybrook and proclaiming his jurisdiction over Connecticut, sending soldiers to the islands of Martha's Vineyard and of Nantucket, and going in person among the Mohawks, a hundred miles beyond Schenectady. He sent an expedition as far as Pemaquid, on the Maine coast, to hold that region for his master, the Duke of York.

The Iroquois

Of peculiar importance in the colonial history of English America were the relations between the New York provincials and the mighty Iroquois. The power of these greatest of red men had grown in no slight degree since Champlain had met them in 1609. They had overcome the Susquehannocks and the Delawares and had established their supremacy in western New England. Their "long house," as their own orators proudly styled the Iroquois region, from the Hudson to Lake Erie, in allusion to the form of their dwellings, had become a fort against the invasion of the French, who held Canada and desired to push into the warmer, more fertile, and more attractive regions to the south. They merged defeated tribes into their own system, and showed that singular power to absorb other societies which characterizes the greatest peoples. They were so solid a nation as to have religious leaders known as "keepers of the faith." Yet their solidarity was not at the expense of individuality, for a French critic said of them, in 1706, but a few years after the time with which we are dealing, " . . .

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these Americans are perfectly convinced that man is born free and that no earthly power has any right to confine his freedom." In 1642, the Iroquois defeated the Hurons, who had allied themselves with the French. They compelled their French captives to run the gauntlet. One of these was Father Jogues, the Jesuit, who, upon being ransomed by the Dutch, visited New Amsterdam and wrote an account of the Dutch. In 1644, the heroic martyr-missionary was killed by the terrible Mohawks, whom he sought to convert to his Christian faith. Other atrocities followed. In 1653, the French made peace with these amazing savages, these statesmen of the forest, who celebrated their victories with cannibal feasts, and taught their children like dogs to tear the flesh of living captives. Yet war could not long be prevented. In 1665, Louis of France ordered the army of New France to treat the Five Nations as "perpetual and irreconcilable enemies," and sent a thousand veterans, who had been fighting the Turks in Hungary, to exterminate the Iroquois in the lands explored by Champlain. Treaties, missions, battles, ambuscades followed.

In 1667, the great La Salle went among them as an explorer. In 1672, the imperious Frontenac, with his plans of vast empire, began the career that was to be so significant in American history. By his very arrogance, he soon acquired authority among the Iroquois, who could comprehend pride but not piety. In 1680, having come into the possession of firearms, the Iroquois completed their conquest of the Andastes and of the Eries, west of the "long house." Of the details of this story little need be said; the

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substance of the matter is that all northern New York was held by a foreign nation fully as important from the points of view of settlement and of war and of politics as either the French to their north or the English in the south.

In 1678, Governor Andros returned to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the order of knighthood. He reported that there were twenty churches in the province, including Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, Anabaptists, Lutherans, Reformed, and Jews, supported by "free gifts," and Episcopalians whose "chapel" was supported at the charge of the proprietor. He reported that there was at least a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, value of property in the province. A thousand pounds represented the wealth of a "rich" merchant. The imports amounted to fifty thousand pounds annually.

The Colony in 1678

In 1683, Thomas Dongan went out as governor of New York. An Irish Roman Catholic, a colonel in the army, and once lieutenant-governor in Tangiers, Dongan, under instructions, summoned an assembly of eighteen persons to be elected by all the "freeholders" of the province,— Pemaquid, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Long Island, New York, Esopus, and Albany. The claim of the overlordship of New Jersey, set forth by Andros, was given up. This assembly, at its first meeting, enacted laws under the style of the "Charter of Liberties." Among the "liberties" were these, viz.:

The People in General Assembly

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1. "Supreme legislative authority" resident in "a governor, council, and the people met in a general assembly." That simple expression, "the people," particularly stirred the ire of honest James in London. Not even Hooker of Hartford had talked about "the people."

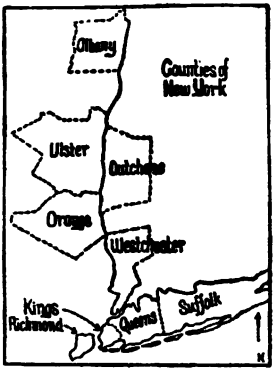
2. "No tax, aid, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever . . . upon any pretense but by the consent" of the aforesaid "supreme legislative authority."

3. Free elections.

4. Perfect religious liberty to Christians.

5. Naturalization easy and complete.

Upon this occasion, twelve counties were established,—New York, Westchester, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, Albany, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Dukes, and Cornwall. Of these the last two were, respectively, the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard and Pemaquid.



In 1684, an important conference was held with the Iroquois, but it was clouded from the public view by the vastly more important matter of that year, the accession of the Duke of York to the throne of England as James II. Among his first acts, was to repudiate the Charter of Liberties. Another was to extend religious freedom to all persons, whether Christians or not. He made all schoolmasters subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury in England,

The Royal Province of New England

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forbade all printing save by permission of the governor, and dissolved the General Assembly. He ordered Dongan to send French priests among the Iroquois, and thereby angered the loyal English heart

of that good man. In 1688, he placed Sir Edmund Andros, then governor of Massachusetts, in control of New York, whereupon Dongan retired to a farm upon Long Island, leaving a record better than that

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of any other colonial governor in the seventeenth century in America. New York now became but a single port of the new province of New England that extended from Delaware bay into Maine. In this new scheme of government, Francis Nicholson took especial charge, under Andros, of New York. But a crisis was at hand that shook all the English world, for James, the Catholic, lost his throne, and William, the Protestant, won a kingdom.

James II. and William III.

In the political history of European nations, there are many exceedingly interesting genealogies, some of them of no slight significance in their relation to the welfare of the people. Perhaps no genealogies are either more interesting or more significant than those which in part account for the characters of James II. and of William III. Of the hybrid heredity of James I. something has been said earlier in this narrative. That James I. married Anne of Denmark, and that Charles I. married Henrietta Maria of France, are facts that also have been recorded. We must not, however, because of these facts, jump to the conclusion that James II. was half French, a quarter Dane, and a quarter Scotch. On the contrary, we must always keep very clearly in mind that the royal blood of Europe is a mixture (unfortunately seldom a composition) of all the great races there represented.

Of the heredity of William III. it is, for our purposes, sufficient to notice that his mother was Mary, daughter of Charles I., and sister of James I. His father, William II., had married her when she was but eleven years old, and had himself died a few days

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before the birth of his firstborn son. The grandparents of the frail, fatherless baby were Frederick Henry, a man scarcely less able than William the Silent himself, whose youngest son he was, and the Princess Amelie of Solmes. One of his great-grandmothers was Louise Coligny, the fourth wife of the greatest of all Dutch statesmen, and the daughter of the noble Coligny, Protestant leader of France. This was the lady who first surrounded the high elective office of stadtholder with the circumstance of royalty, riding herself in a chariot of state, and who, in her long widowhood, supported Olden Barneveld in his plans for the welfare of Holland. When William III. of the United Netherlands came to the throne of England, by virtue of the right of his wife, Mary, daughter of James II., and by the choice of the Parliament of England, he represented in his own ancestry more French blood than Dutch. Moreover, he knew by direct contact little of the traditions of his great paternal House of Orange-Nassau, for he grew up an orphan, often isolated from sympathetic influences, over whom all his near relatives quarreled. An invalid all his life, taciturn, quick, wilful, far-sighted, patient, enduring to the uttermost, "Dutch William," the last of the elder branch of a mighty line, affected, yes, directed the course of human history as certainly as ever did any other ruler of men. Despite the odds against him, he overmatched the Stuarts of England and the Bourbons of France, and though not the direct heir to the throne and not of royal blood upon the paternal side, came to the rule of England as a monarch, adding that dignity to his elective office as Stadtholder of the Netherlands.

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There were three immortal leaders of political Protestantism in Europe in the seventeenth century: Gustavus Adolphus, Oliver Cromwell, and William III. Of these Gustavus was the most brilliant and the most attractive, Cromwell the strongest, and William the wisest.

Causes of the English Revolution

The personal character of James II. was such that he has never been (and can never be) dealt with fairly by modern men who believe in the inseparableness of public and private morality. Yet James sincerely worked for complete toleration of all religions in his realm; he tried to establish in Ireland home rule by Irish Catholics; and he was invariably loyal and true to his friends. Moreover, James was strong, direct, and personally honest, as his brother Charles had certainly not been. Why, then, upon the birth of a son and heir to his second wife, Mary of Modena, did he lose his throne? And why was he succeeded by Mary, his daughter by his first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of that Earl of Clarendon who once had been his tutor and who was always his friend? There were several causes, all of them important in effecting that momentous political change, the English Revolution of 1688. The first was that England was not tolerant, but Protestant, and feared that the toleration of James meant the restoration of Catholicism in England. The second cause depended upon the first: Englishmen saw in William III. of Holland, the husband of Mary, a champion of Protestantism in Europe in its resistance to the aggressions of the great Catholic King, Louis XIV. of France; and they were not unwilling to assist him by becoming

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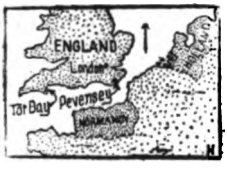
his subjects. The third cause was that James had undertaken to rule without Parliament and also to dictate to the usually subservient English judges even beyond the measure of the usually domineering English kings. Such were the causes that led to the insurrection in England against King James. At this crisis, Stadtholder William landed at Torbay with thirteen thousand men, of whom many had been hired with English money. William was able, at this juncture, to leave Holland, because Louis of France had fatuously withdrawn his army into Germany. Inevitably one compares and contrasts with the landing of William III., in 1689, the landing of William I., in 1066- As Netherlanders had preceded the later William so thousands of Normans had preceded the earlier. Both came as representatives of a higher culture and of a more complex political organization. But one came to bring peace and the other to bring war. It is well to summarize just what the change to William and Mary as sovereigns meant to the people of England and of the English colonies in America.



The English Revolution meant the Bill of Rights by which, in 1689, Parliament was definitely made supreme in England. Thenceforth, the Stuart despotism was as dead as the Tudor monarchy. It meant that England was to be Protestant and therefore independent of Europe, rather than Catholic and more or less subordinate to Rome and dependent upon France. It meant that Holland and England were, for a time, to have one

Results

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ruler, himself partly of British blood, through whom, directly and indirectly, many Dutch influences were to flow into English life. It meant the overthrow of kingship by divine right and the erection in its stead of kingship by popular consent, the ancient Teutonic chieftaincy. It meant, singular as it may seem, the orderly establishment of many of the very features of toleration for which James, and even Charles, had stood. And, finally, to our forefathers in America, it meant an end to the "tyranny of Andros" in the "Dominion of New England"; for the governor to whom, in 1688, James had given control of the northern colonies had displayed, in Massachusetts, not a few of the qualities of the tyrant. In 1684, the charter had been "cancelled, vacated, annihilated" by the English Court of Chancery, for causes satisfactory to the maker of English judges, the King himself. In 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, "Captain-General and Governor," abolished the General Court, took from the town-meetings the control of local taxes, in the prevailing English fashion enforced the press-censorship, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, seized and carried to Boston all public records, compelled landowners to pay "quit-rents" to save the titles to their lands (as he had done a dozen years before in New York), demanded the Connecticut charter, the most liberal possessed by any colony, intending to destroy it and with it the liberties of Connecticut, and even urged a suit to break the Maryland charter of Lord Baltimore. When, in 1689, Boston heard of the flight of James II., the royal master of Andros, the city rose against the tyrant and put him in prison, whence he was set free to go to England,

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never to return. In 1691, a new charter was secured by Massachusetts, and in 1697, that colony and New York were placed under one governor, Lord Bellamont.

Leisler

In the meantime, there had occurred, in New York, an episode, with which we may well close this account of colonial politics in the last part of the seventeenth century. There, after the downfall of Andros, Jacob Leisler, variously described as a brewer, a merchant, a fur-trader, and a military officer, headed a democratic movement for the possession of the government. This Leisler was a native of Germany, but of French Huguenot descent, like the redoubtable and likewise irritable Kieft of an earlier time. A bitter zealot in the political interests of Protestantism, he saw, in the "Glorious Revolution," an opportunity to thrust down from their high places in government and in society all "Papists and Romish persons." Knowing that the government of Nicholson was no longer technically legal, and having in the harbor some wines liable to import duty, Leisler led a body of men to seize the fort, organized a "Committee of Safety" to rule the town, and induced "for fear of the nasty Goal," as a contemporary account frankly says, the leading townspeople to accept his rule. The leader claimed to hold his office by virtue of a singularly indefinite letter from King William, "Directed . . . to Nicholson . . . and in his absence To such as for the time being, take care of the Preservation of the Peace, and administering the Laws in Our said Province."

For two years this *de facto* "Lieutenant Governor,"

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as he styled himself, administered public affairs decidedly to the discomfort of the "aristocrats." He held at New York, in 1690, a general conference of the colonies regarding Indian affairs and relations with Canada. This was the first congress in our history. In the same year, King William regularly appointed as governor Colonel Henry Sloughter, whose soldiery under Captain Ingoldsby arrived in January, 1691. Led by the allegations of the enemies of Leisler, Ingoldsby attempted to put him out of office. Civil war resulted. Upon the arrival of Sloughter, Leisler was arrested, and condemned to death for "High Treason and Murder." The presiding judge at this trial was that Joseph Dudley, who had himself been charged with treason in his own province of Massachusetts, and the governor signed the death-warrant (according to common report) when helplessly intoxicated. Very soon thereafter, Sloughter, who cut so sorry a figure in this affair, died suddenly, some said of remorse, others, of poison. In 1695, the Leislerites, the "Dutch party," or the "democrats," as they were variously styled, secured from Parliament a reversal of the attainder of treason, and the property of Jacob Leisler, escheated to the province, was given to his son.

In New York, from 1692 to 1698, Benjamin Fletcher was governor. In his time many New Yorkers grew rich upon piracy, carried on under cover of "letters of marque" granted by King William against the commerce of France. The harbor became a resort of pirates, buccaneers, and scoundrels, greatly to the demoralization of honest business. In 1696, the apparently

Piracy

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immortal William Kidd, in the *Adventure*, with one hundred and fifty-five men in the crew, sailed out of New York harbor, with a commission against French merchantmen and all pirates in the Indian Ocean; and the English noblemen in the King's Ministry who invested some six thousand pounds in the enterprise doubtless hoped for a repetition of the amazing success of Francis Drake, a hundred and twenty years before.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW FRANCE

1497–1697

UNTIL nearly the middle of the seventeenth century neither of two features of American colonial history, —what nation should colonize Canada, and where in the New World France would try to secure dominion and to establish colonies, —had been determined. It is interesting to trace the steps by which the historical conditions were gradually produced.

Adventures

Leif Ericson, the Northman, discovered Labrador, and left an ineffective tradition of his voyage. John Cabot, the Italian, in the employ of England five hundred years later, saw

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the coast, and his son published the account. There is a map of the northern Atlantic coast, which was drawn, in 1500, with the authority of Juan de la Cosa, the famous Basque pilot of Columbus. In 1500, Gasper Cortereal of Portugal visited Newfoundland. Four years later, there were Breton fishermen in Canadian waters, and the fishery upon the Grand Banks was soon well established. In 1506, Jean Denys of France visited the St. Lawrence gulf. A dozen years later, another Frenchman, Baron de Léry, visited the American coast. In 1520, Estevan Gomez of Portugal visited the coast of Labrador. In 1524, came the famous voyage of the Italian Verrazano, in the employ of France. Two years later, Baron de Léry visited the Isle of Sable, and left domestic cattle, whose wild descendants were found several decades later. In 1534 and in 1535–36, Jacques Cartier of France made the first two of his great voyages. In 1540, Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, a French enthusiast, made an effort to establish a colony in Canada; and in the following year Cartier made his third voyage. In 1540–41, Allefonsce, the pilot of Roberval, came to the north coast and made maps. In 1549, Roberval made another unsuccessful attempt to found a colony. Thus passed the first half-century of Canadian history after the discovery. Not until the next century were there any permanent French colonists in Canada. The climate had proven too severe, and the resources of the colonizers too slight. With each attempt, the survivors whom disease, hardship, starvation,

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and their own quarrels had spared were eager to leave their settlements and to return to France.

Of the settlements of the French at Port Royal and on the St. John's river, in Florida, an account has been presented earlier in this narrative. Despite the tragic outcome, France did not abandon to Spain her claims to that region based upon occupation by Ribault and Laudonnière. In 1567, Dominic de Gourgues of France made his terrific assault upon St. Augustine. And now England appears once more upon the scene, and Frobisher begins, in 1576, his series of voyages off the Canadian coasts. In 1578, the persistent De Léry published an account of Brazil, hoping that France might secure a foothold there. In 1579, Simon Fernando, and in 1580, John Walker, both of England, visited "Norumbega." In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose "man" Walker was, visited Newfoundland; and in 1584, the Marquis de la Roche of France was lost at sea in an expedition designed to found a colony. In 1585, John Davis of England began his voyages to the north. In 1597, map-making was so advanced in respect to America that Cornelius Wytfliet published at Louvain, Belgium, an atlas exclusively devoted to the new continents. Upon the map devoted to Canada we find many names of exceeding interest in history: Nova Francia, Canada, Terra Cortereale, Terra de Baccalaos (cod), Sinus S. Laurenty, Hochelaj, Hochelaga, Monemorançy, Saguenai, Y. de Assumptione, C. de Breton, P. de Jacques Cartier. This map is essentially accurate, and marks admirably the close of the hundred years during which the nations of Europe were casting about where in America to settle

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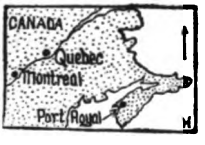
their surplus population. It marks also the closing years of a century in which Canada was drifting into the possession of France.

New France

In 1599, Samuel de Champlain of France began a career as an explorer in America that made him the true founder of New France. In that year, he went to the West Indies as captain of a Spanish vessel. In 1603, as lieutenant-general of Canada, he visited the St. Lawrence, and in 1604 was again there. Before his return to France, he visited the New England coast. In 1608, under the patent of the Sieur de Monts, a rich Huguenot, he founded Quebec upon the site of that Stadacona where Cartier had kidnapped Donnaconna, "King of Canada," and eight chiefs. All of them had died of broken hearts in France. This shameful event the Indians remembered, but forgave. Events in Nova Francia now multiply so fast that only a few here and there may be recorded. Soon the Récollet and the Jesuit priests came to America to convert the Indians. Port Royal, Nova Scotia, was founded. Champlain and other explorers early traversed the region from the Bay of Fundy to Lake Erie. By 1618 Étienne Brulé brought a report of the region beyond Lake Huron. In 1620, Sir George Calvert acquired Newfoundland from King James of England.



In 1626, King Louis XIII. of France conveyed Canada to the Company of New France, the so-called Company of One Hundred Associates, of which the famous Cardinal de Richelieu was the head. At this

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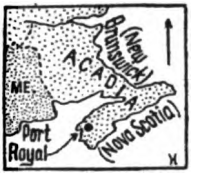
time Canada was exporting some twenty thousand beaver-skins annually, and had some fifty settlers. In 1632, by treaty, England surrendered to France Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In the same year, Champlain published his complete narratives, and upon a map noted, for the first time, the Falls of Niagara. In 1634, Jean Nicollet discovered Lake Michigan. By this time the French Catholic missions had become very widely extended. In 1636, France acquired possession of Martinique and Dominique, thereby greatly strengthening her power in the West Indies. In 1641, Montreal was founded at Hochelaga, a locality frequently occupied before in the heart of the fur-trading district. Two years later, began the great war between the Iroquois and the Hurons, whose various outbreaks played so prominent a part in the development of both New York and New France. In 1656, the Iroquois, having already defeated and nearly destroyed the Hurons, completed the destruction of the Eries. In 1659, Groseilliers and Radison explored Lake Superior. The next year, saw the heroic sacrifice by which Adam Doulac, Sieur des Ormeaux, leader of the garrison of Montreal, saved all Canada from the Iroquois by resisting their invading force at the Long Sault Rapids. Not a man of the French survived; yet the Indians had suffered so terribly that they dared not press forward. In 1662, the former explored the region north to Hudson bay. In 1664, the French occupied Santo Domingo, and made one more of their many attempts to secure possession of Guiana. Two years later,



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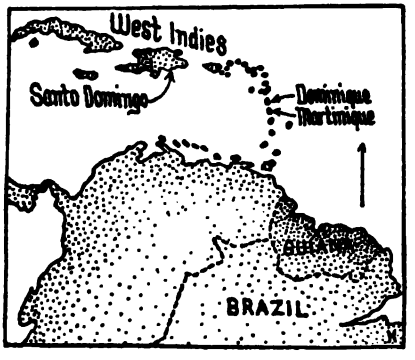
appeared the significant map of the region from Labrador to Baffin bay, drawn by Sanson, showing how fully developed at this time was the knowledge of the region of the "Northwest Passage." In the same year war was being waged between England and France in the course of which, in America, Courcelles led an expedition against the Oneidas and the Mohawks, and De Tracy later in the year led an expedition against the Oneidas. In 1667, the Jesuits began once more their Iroquois missions, and maintained them for twenty years. By the Treaty of Breda, France acquired Acadia. In 1669, the Mohawks waged war against the Mohegans, and by their success still further strengthened themselves as a bulwark for the protection of the English colonies against the French.



Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, is, to the latter half of the seventeenth century in New France, what Champlain was to the first half of the century, and more than what Cartier was to the sixteenth century. He appeared in Canada for the first time in 1666, and became a leader in exploration. After Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, came to New France as governor in 1672; the two names of La Salle and Frontenac were inseparably associated in the talk of the world. Like so many others of the heroic Frenchmen who built up

Great Names

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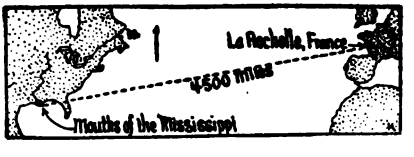
the empire of France in North America, these two leaders were well born and well bred. In the following year, Fort Frontenac was built upon Lake Ontario at Kingston; and Louis Jolliet, the enterprising native French Canadian fur-trader, with Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, explored the Mississippi river, from the portage route by way of Green bay and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, to the mouth of the Arkansas river. This

was the great voyage that inspired the dreams of La Salle to find a fortune and to found an empire in the region from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson bay. In January, 1680, his plans had proceeded so far toward realization that he was able to build Fort Crèvecœur in the Illinois country, where he found the evidences of the ruin wrought by the Iroquois in their far-reaching war against the Illinois. Next year, he built Fort St. Louis upon the Illinois river, and on the ninth day of April reached the mouth of the magnificent Mississippi, "the Father of Waters." In 1684, La Salle, who had returned to France, where his great supporter, Frontenac, was temporarily retired under a cloud of false reports, brought an expedition direct from La Rochelle to the Gulf of Mexico, intending to develop the splendid province of Louisiana. In 1687, he was slain by a personal enemy, at a spot perhaps



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not many miles from the scene of the death of De Soto, the Spaniard, whose name, with that of La Salle, is forever linked with that of the mighty river.

European Causes of American History

In 1685, came in France the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, an event, a misfortune, a surpassing folly that will necessarily demand our attention later in this narrative in the account of European history in its relation with America. Here it is requisite to note that in 1686 the Huguenots, fleeing from the land of their birth and of their affection, reached Massachusetts and other English colonies. Thus, New France as well as France herself lost their intelligence and energy. In 1688, before William III. was seated upon the throne of England, the long war began that is known by his name. In the following year, Count Frontenac returned to Quebec and began vigorously to push the struggle in New York and New England. Two years later, the French lost Acadia, to receive it again by the Treaty of Ryswick, and in the next year after the treaty, the great captain died. Frontenac had saved the French dominion in the New World for a period of six decades yet to come. With his death ended the second century of the history of Canada. In this recital, we have passed over, without notice, many matters of supreme interest in the tale of New France.

Heroes and Martyrs

In the development of the French empire in America, certain forces of striking character played their parts. The political, state-building, empire-expanding energy has already been sufficiently emphasized in the foregoing pages; but the economic motive and its effects

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have been kept in the background of the history. Yet the *coureur de bois* was everywhere the forerunner of the agents of the State. The names of two of the leaders of the fur-trade cannot be omitted from these pages without leaving these events in a false perspective, for Nicholas Perrot, who explored the interior of the continent, and Daniel Greysolon Duluth, the "Canadian Robin Hood," bushrangers though they were, must also be remembered as the pioneers of civilization (such as it was) in the country of the Great Lakes.

Again, no mere allusions can do justice to those French priests, monks, and nuns who lived, and usually died, here in the New World in the service of the Holy Church. They included Hennepin, who went among the Sioux, Membré, the companion of La Salle, and whom he loved as much as he did the faithful Italian, Tonty "of the copper hand," and Lalemont, Jogues, and Brebeuf; Marie Guyard, Marie Madeleine de Chauvigny, and many another true "soldier of the Cross." Their mission was not less to their own people than to the Indians themselves. Neither Spain nor England, neither Holland nor Sweden has any virtue to display in historical narrative fairly comparable with the virtue (in its noble Latin sense) of the Jesuits, Récollets, Sulpicians, Ursulines, and various other heroes, heroines, saints, and martyrs, of France in America. They endured everything: hunger, cold, filth, snow, insult, ignorance, torture, hatred. They had their faults; their aim itself may be criticised. Notwithstanding,

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for their pure devotion to religion and to humanity, for the cleanness of their lives, for their sacrifice of every worldly interest, we love them and count their "Relations" and "Journals" among the priceless treasures of our historical literature.

A third force that was building New France in the seventeenth century was the central monarchy.

Centralized Power

In this province, we hear nothing of general assemblies, town-meetings, charters, liberties. In 1614, the States-General had ceased to meet in France, and local liberty was dead. The advent of Louis XIV. to the throne, in 1643, put an end to the thought of any constitutional development in any part of his dominions; as for New France, he was ready to prescribe rules, regulations, and ordinances affecting the large affairs and the smallest details alike of the daily lives of his subjects. He created there a feudal society with *seigniors* and *habitants*. These latter were in the same position as the *paysans* of the home country. They must grind their corn at their lord's will, bake their bread in his oven, give him a tithe of all fish caught, and pay him rent in money or produce. In church matters, the *habitants* had a certain right of "referendum" but no right of "initiative." In religion, all must be Catholic, for Louis was a strong pillar of the State-Church. Small wonder was it that few of the French people chose to go to New France, and that those who did go preferred the free life of the fur-traders, with Indian wives, to the settled life of the farmers in a land to which Frenchwomen preferred to come as nuns rather than as mothers. In 1697, all Canada and Louisiana had scarce two thousand

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settlers of French stock. But in the single control of their oversea tyrant, they, with his soldiers and their own Indian allies, were in a position to hold in check the expansion movements of the English colonies with their three hundred thousand settlers. France had won the two great waterways of the North American continent, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. It is but the sober truth of history to say that with wise political institutions, it would have been her destiny to win all North America. In 1697, the possessions of France in the New World were more desirable than those either of England or of Spain. It remained for the eighteenth century to demonstrate infallibly that political institutions determine the issue of the rivalries of peoples.

Historical Perspective.—Pre-colonial.

[Note.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

[More or less mythical or conjectural.]

860.—Iceland discovered by Naddeddr.
865.—Iceland visited by Floki.
876.—Greenland discovered by Gunnbjorn.
985.—Greenland explored by Eric Raude.
986.—America discovered by Herjulfson.
1000.—New Eng. visited by Leif Ericson.
1002–3.—Me. and Mass. visited by Thorwald.
1004.—Leif, exploring New Eng., is slain by natives.
1005.—Thorstien Ericsfiord explores New Eng.
1006.—Thorfinn Karlsefne explores New Eng. and voyages southward.
1011.—Freydis visits Mass. with thirty men.
1135.—Northmen erect monument in Baffin's bay.
1347.—Labrador and New Eng. visited by Norwegians.
1393 (4?).—Nicolo Zeno visits Greenland.
1424.—"Antillia" first placed on maps.
1463–4.—Cortereal visits Newfoundland.
1476.—Skolno coasts Labrador.
1477.—Columbus visits Iceland.
1484.—Columbus leaves the service of Portugal.
1485.—Genoese, Venetians, and English reject the proposal of Columbus—He enters the French piratical service—Appeals to Spain.
1486.—Columbus enters Castilian (Sp.) service.
1491.—Spanish clergy report against Columbus.
1492.—Terms of Columbus first rejected, but later accepted by Spain, and he discovers the West India Is.

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1493.—Columbus returns to Spain.——Makes second voyage.
1496.—Columbus returns to Spain dejected.——England commissions John Cabot for discovery.
1497.—John Cabot (and son Sebastian?) discovers Labrador.
1498.—Sebastian Cabot discovers the continent.——Columbus makes third voyage and discovers South America.
1499.—Pinson discovers Brazil.——Vespucci coasts S. America.——Ojeda coasts Gulf of Mexico.
1500.—Cabral coasts Brazil.——Cortereal coasts Labrador and Canada.——Columbus returns from third voyage.
1501.—Amerigo Vespucci reports New World no part of India; his name given to southern continent.
1502.—Columbus makes fourth voyage.—He coasts Gulf of Mexico.
1504.—Columbus takes last leave of the New World.
1508.—Aubert carries French flag up the St. Lawrence river.
1513.—Ponce de Leon rediscovers Florida.——Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
1518.—Grijalva discovers east coast of Mexico.
1520.—Magellan sails south of America into the Pacific Ocean.
1522.—Magellan and Del Caño complete first circumnavigation of globe.
1524.—Verrazano explores Atlantic coast.
1528.—Expedition of Narvaes.
1534–6.—Expedition of Cartier to St. Lawrence G. and R.
1539–42.—The De Soto expedition.
1540–42.—Expedition of Coronado.
1549.—Failure of colony of Roberval.
1562.—Expedition of Ribault.
1576–8.—Voyages of Frobisher.
1578 and 1583.—Voyages of Humphrey Gilbert.
1579.—Drake circumnavigates the globe.
1584–5.—Expeditions of Raleigh.
1584–92.—Voyages of Davis.
1602.—Direct trip across the Atlantic—Gosnold.
1603.—First Voyage of Champlain to Canada.

Historical Perspective.—Settlement, 1607–1698.

[Note.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]
1607, Va.—Jamestown settlement—105 or 141 men.——Me.—Settlement at Kennebec R. (soon abandoned).
1608, Va.—120 new colonists. Only 38 of the original settlers are living—Smith explores Chesapeake bay and Susquehanna river—Newport sails up the James R. to reach the Pacific Ocean.
1609, Va.—Colonists increased to 450. Between 50 and 60 houses.——N. J. and N. Y.—Hudson explores coast and North R. in *Halve Moon*.
1610, Va.—Rioting and famine destroy seven eighths of the colonists—"The Starving Time" and new colonists.
1611, Va.—Many new colonists with new supplies.
1612, N. Y.—The Dutch erect huts on Manhattan I. (about 45 Broadway).
1613, Me.—Settlement on Mt. Desert I. (soon abandoned.)——N. Y.—Dutch establish a trading-post (fort and four houses) on Manhattan I.
1614, Conn.—Dutch build a fort near Hartford—Block explores Long I. sound.
1617, Va.—Colony declines through bad government.——N. J.—Settlement at Bergen.
1619, Va.—Colony prospers—First Negroes (14 or 19?) arrive.
1620, Mass.—Pilgrims settle at Plymouth——Va.—Many new colonists.

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1621, Mass.—Half of the Pilgrims die the first winter.—More come in November with scant supplies (Half rations for six months).——Va.—Great increase of colonists.

1622, N. H.—Settlements at Dover and Portsmouth.——Mass.—English fishing vessels sell food at double price—Settlement at Weymouth.——Me.—Settlement at Saco (or 1623).——Va.—Nine tenths of the plantations (farms) abandoned because of massacre by Indians.

1623, N. Y.—Walloons arrive from Flanders, and settle Ft. Orange (Albany).——N. J.—Walloons settle Ft. Nassau.

1624, New Eng.—Population 180.——N. Y.—Civil gov't begun.——Va.—Population 2,000 out of the 9,000 (?) sent out in the 17 years.

1627, Va.—1,000 colonists arrive.

1628, Mass.—Colony at Salem.——N. Y.—Population 270.

1629, Mass.—Nine sachems offer allegiance—Charlestown settled.

1630, Mass.—Inferior shelter—Death-rate large—1,500 colonists arrive and settle Watertown, Dorchester, and Roxbury.

1631, Mass.—New Town (Cambridge) settled.

1632, Mass.—Winthrop urges emigration to the fertile Conn. valley.

1633, Conn.—Windsor settled.

1634, Md.—200 Catholics land on St. Clement's I.

1635, Conn.—Hartford founded—Saybrook settled by Puritans.——Mass.—3,000 colonists arrive—Concord founded.

1636, R. I.—Providence founded.——Mass.—Springfield founded.

1638, Del.—Swedes settle "New Sweden."

1639, N. Y.—Staten I. colonised.——R. I.—Newport settled.

1640, N. Y.—Southampton, L. I., settled from Mass.

1642, N. Y.—A stone tavern built.——New Eng. contained about 30 towns and villages.

1644, N. Y.—City Hall built (Court Slip)—Population of Manhattan, 100—Entire province, 1,500.

1648, Conn.—New London settled.

1649, Va.—Northern Neck a refuge for Culpeper's partisans.

1651, N. C.—Settlement upon north mouth of Chowan R.

1653, Va.—Colonists emigrate to Chowan R.——Mass.—Many Puritans return to Eng.

1660, New Eng.—Population 38,000.——Md.—12,000.——Va.—40,000. "Including 2,000 black slaves and 6,000 Christian servants."

1664, N. Y.—Population 10,000.—Fort Orange named Albany.—Schenectady settled.——N. J.—Newark, Elizabethtown, Middletown, and Shrewsbury settled mostly from New Eng.

1665, N. J.—Proprietors offer liberal terms to settlers.

1670, S. C.—Colony on Ashley R.—Old Charlestown founded.

1671, Md.—Population, 20,000.

1673.—Western Ohio settled by the French.

1674, N. C.—Population, 4,000.

1679.—Great fire at Boston (£200,000).——Old Charlestown moved to Charlestown.

1681, Pa.—New Castle settled, and 80 houses and cottages built in a year.——Ill.—First Eng. settlement, near Alton.——N. J.—Perth Amboy founded.

1682.—Newark has 100 families.

1682, Pa.—Germantown settled.

1682–7, N. J.—Scotch colonists settle.

1683.—"The best blood of Europe" settles in S. C.——Va.—General poverty and distress.

1684.—Philadelphia about 2,000 population.

1685, S. C.—Many persecuted Huguenots arrive.

1686, N. Y.—City of Albany incorporated.

1689, N. Y.—New Rochelle settled by Huguenots.

1696, New Eng.—Population, 100,000.——Boston, 7,000.——N. Y. City, 6,000.——Phila., 4,000.

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Historical Perspective.—Politics, 1607–1698.

[Note.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

1606, Va.—First Charter (London Co. and Plymouth Co.).
1607, Va.—Wingfield elected Gov., impeached and deposed—Ratcliffe chosen Gov. and deposed—Smith made Pres. of the Colony.
1609, Va.—Charter improved.
1610, Va.—London Co. sends Lord Delaware as Gov.
1611, Va.—Dale and Gates take command of the colony.
1612, Va.—Third Charter.——N. Y.—New Netherland Trading Co. formed.
1614, N. Y.—New Netherlands Trading Co. charter.
1616, Va.—Dale resigns. Yeardley Dep. Gov.
1617, Va.—Bad government.
1619, N. Y.—New Neth. charter expires.——Va.—Popular government and House of Burgesses introduced.
1620, Eng.—Plymouth Co. reorganized.——Mass.—Pilgrims organize republican gov't.—Carver Gov.—Suffrage, all males (continued 18 years).
1621, Mass.—Treaty with Wampanoags (50 years)—Gov. Carver dies—Bradford elected Gov.—Eng. Patent issued to Pilgrims.——N. Y.—Dutch W. I. Co. chartered (limited 24 years).——Va.—New Constitution.
1622, N. H.—Laconia Patent.——N. Y.—The W. I. Co. takes possession.
1624, Va.—Charter annulled—Becomes a royal colony.
1626, N. Y.—Minuit made Gov.
1629, Mass.—Mass Bay Co. chartered—Winthrop Gov.——N. Y.—W. I. Co. granted patroon privileges.——N. H. and Me. separately chartered.——Va.—Harvey made Gov.
1630, Mass.—Trimountain (Boston) founded and holds first court in U. S. Third patent to Plymouth Co.——Carolina Patent.——Va.—Heavy fines.
1631, Mass.—Puritans limit suffrage to church members.
1632, Md.—Calvert receives grant.
1633, N. Y.—Van Twiller Gov.
1634, Mass.—Ballot substituted for show of hands. Representative gov't adopted. ——N. J.—New Albion grant.
1635, Mass.—Plymouth charter surrendered.——Md.—First General Assembly.—— Conn.—John Winthrop Gov.——Va.—Gov. Harvey deposed.——New Eng.—Selectmen appointed.
1636, Mass.—Code of laws established at Plymouth.
1638, R. I.—Civil gov't (Jewish model) established.——Conn.—New Haven settled.
1639, Conn.—Civil gov't organized. Bible adopted as State Constitution (20 yr.). ——Mass.—First General Assembly.——Md.—Representative gov't adopted.
1641, R. I.—Israelitish gov't fails—Democratic established.——Mass.—Body of Liberties adopted.
1642, N. H.—Union with Mass.——N. Y.—First Rep. assembly dissolved by Gov.
1643, Eng.—Warwick made Gov.-in-chief of all American colonies.——R. I.—Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth united under one charter—The United Colonies of New Eng. formed—John Winthrop Gov.——Conn.—Repub. of New Haven organized.
1644, Mass.—Legislature divided into two bodies.——R. I.—General charter.
1645, Md.—Rebellion of Clayborne.
1647, N. Y.—Stuyvesant last Gov. of New Neth. (17 yr.)——R. I.—First General Assembly frames Code of Laws.
1648, R. I.—Admission to New Eng. Union refused.
1649, Mass.—Code of Laws adopted.——Va.—Cromwell rejected—Chas. II. proclaimed.
1650, Md.—Legislature divided into two houses.
1651, Eng.—Commissioner appointed to Chesapeake Colony.
1652, Va.—Liberal proclamation of Cromwell's commissioner.——R. I.—Providence and R. I. Charter.

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1653, N. Y.—New Amsterdam (N. Y. City) incorporated—First General Assembly.——Md.—Rebellion (1653–8).
1655, N. Y.—New Sweden forcibly annexed.
1656.—N. Y. and Conn. conclude a boundary treaty.
1658, Va.—Salary for Gov. (repealed following year).
1660, Md.—People vote themselves a lawful assembly.——Va.—House of Burgesses abolished (16 yr.).
1661, Va.—Political revolution.——Mass.—The rights of colonists declared—Laws against Quakers suspended by the King.——Va.—The King unjustly grants lands to favorites.
1662, Conn.—A liberal charter received.
1663.—Carolina patent issued.——R. I. Charter renewed.——Carolina.—The Chowan R. colony organized a civil government.
1664, N. Y.—Becomes a proprietary colony and New Neth. ceases to exist.——N. J. separated from N. Y.——Delaware capitulates to the British, and the English flag floats from Me. to Georgia.——Mass.—Remonstrance addressed to King.
1665, N. J.—"Concessions and agreements" adopted.——Mass.—Royal commissioners rejected.——N. Y.—"The Duke's Laws" enacted.——Conn. and New Haven unite and elect John Winthrop Gov.
1667, N. Y.—Exorbitant taxation.
1668, N. J.—First Legis. assembly enacts death penalty for 12 offences.
1669, N. C.—First Legis. assembly organizes a liberal gov't.——Va.—Torn by lavish royal grants.
1670, N. Y.—Annual assemblies demanded.——Va.—Rights of suffrage greatly limited.
1671, N. C.—Colonists defy the Gov.——Mass.—"Almost on the brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown."
1672, S. C.—Colonists demand a new gov't.——N. J.—Gov. deposed.——Mass.—Mass. Bay Co. and Plymouth unite.——Md. tries to absorb Lewiston, Del., by force.
1673, Va.—The King leases the whole colony to Culpeper and Arlington.——N. Y. and N. J. under Dutch control.
1674.—N. Y. and N. J. again under Eng. rule.——Va.—Remonstrance against the King.——N. Y.—Right of popular assembly refused.
1675.—N. Y. claims Conn. territory (failed).
1676.—N. J. divided (East Jersey and West Jersey).
1676–7, Va.—Rebellion of Bacon—"Bacon's Laws" enacted—24 leading patriots hanged—The people burn Jamestown.
1677, N. C.—Insurrection. Independent State 2 years.
1678.—Boston treated Randolph as an enemy.
1679, Mass.—General Court opposes the King.
1679–80.—N. H. is separated from Mass.
1680, N. J.—Duke of York gives up all claims.——Me. organised as a province of Mass.
1681.—Pa. granted to William Penn.——Md.—Elective franchise limited.
1682.—Penn and other Quakers buy N. J.——Mass. appointed agents to defend the charter before the King.——Penn proclaims complete political rights to colonists.——N. H. Revolution.
1683, Pa.—First Assembly.——Va.—No appeal to the King unless for $500 or more.——Pa.—Penn's famous "Indian Treaty."——Mass.—Crown issues "Quo Warranto" against the charter.——N. Y.—First two-house assembly passes "Charter of Liberties."
1684, Mass.—Eng. Court gives judgment against the Colony.——Va. becomes a royal province.
1685, Mass.—Charter annulled.
1685–7.—The King tries to take away all New Eng. charters.——N. Y. becomes a royal colony.
1686, S. C.—Colonies again rebel against the "Locke Constitution."—"Quo Warranto" issued against S. C. and Conn.—King James II. decides to reduce all colonies to direct royal dependencies.——N. Y.—The King abolishes representative assembly.

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1687, Eng.—Conn. and R. I. charters annulled.—Conn. hides its charter in "Charter Oak"—"Quo Warranto" against Md.——N. C.—Rent rebellion and the Gov. defied.

1688.—New Eng. colonists send an agent to protest to the King.——N. Y. made a dependency of New Eng. under Andros.——New Eng. embraces the colonies from the St. Croix to Md. with Boston as capital.

1689, Mass.—Royal gov't overthrown, and Andros imprisoned.——Md.—Armed rebellion.——R. I. and Conn. resume former gov'ts.—— N. Y.—Bitter royal and anti-royal conflict.——N. J.—No recognized gov't.

1690, N. Y.—First American Congress.——S. C.—Gov. impeached and banished.

1691.—Del. secedes from Pa.——Md. becomes a royal colony.

1692, Mass.—New Charter includes Me., Nova Scotia, and the country north of the St. Lawrence.—— Pa.—Penn's rights taken away (restored 1694).—— N. Y.—The General Assembly demands representative gov't.—— S. C.—Proprietors reject all acts of the popular legislature.

1693, Carolina.—The "Grand Model" abandoned.——Md. is united to Pa.——Del. is placed under the rule of N. Y.

1694.—Penn was reinstated.

1695, N. Y.—Democratic gov't again established.

1697.—Mass. and N. H. recognise the authority of N. Y.——Conn. and R. I. remain independent.——N. Y.—Charter of Liberties restricted.——Pa.—Penn proposes an annual Congress of all colonies.

1698, N. Y.—Earl of Bellamont arrived with a commission covering N. Y., N. J., and New Eng. except Conn. and R. I.—Conn. forms an upper house in its legislature.

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Part Two

War

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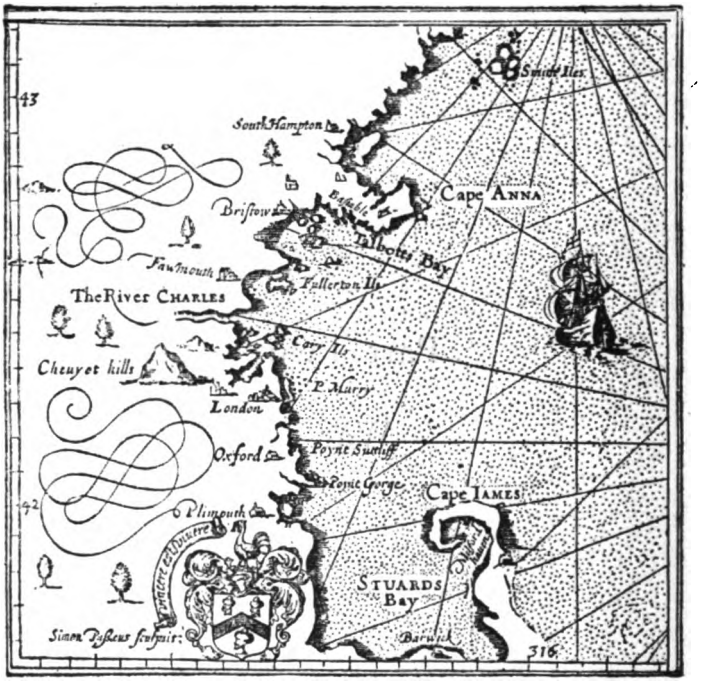

MAP OF THE NEW ENGLAND COAST
From Smith's "History of Virginia."

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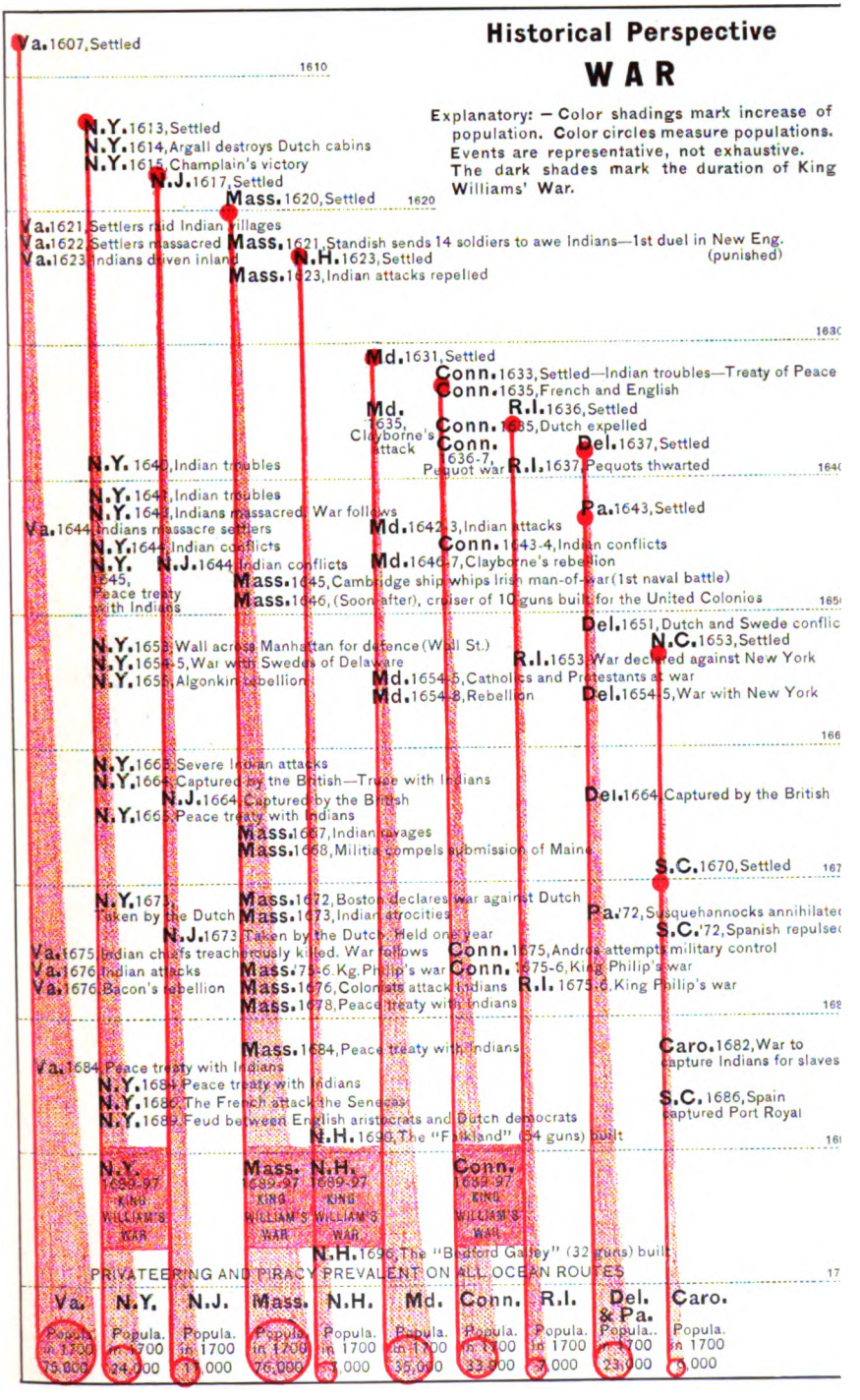

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CHAPTER I

THE WARS WITH THE INDIANS

THAT Opechankano, who seized the power in Virginia after the death of the Powhatan of the Powhatans, was a terrible old fellow with a very bitter grudge against the English pale-faces. So terrible was he that, to account for him, a myth arose regarding his origin. According to this myth, he was really a half-breed Spaniard-Indian, which is possible but not likely. For four years after the death of Powhatan, he secretly worked upon his plan to drive the English out of Virginia. Though thousands of Indians were acquainted with his designs, until the night before the outbreak not one betrayed him, a fact significant of aboriginal character. In the meanwhile, Opechankano maintained outwardly the most cordial relations with governor and colonists. On the very morning when the terrible blow fell, the Indians, by concerted arrangement, came to the colonial plantations bearing presents of game. For a hundred and forty miles the stroke swept across the region of the white men. Only Jamestown was saved by the treachery of a converted Indian, who warned his master. The slaughter was awful. Even loyal friends of the Indians (among them George Thorpe, who had built

In Virginia, 1622

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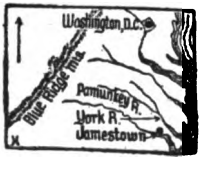
"a fair house, after the English fashion," for Opechankano himself) were mercilessly murdered in cold blood, for, save at Jamestown, none had warning. On that day, March 22, 1622, three hundred and forty-seven white persons perished. Whole families, whole villages, were wiped out of existence. The survivors, mostly near Jamestown, rose in a rage like madness, and drove the Indians to the Potomac, killing hundreds, killing every straggler, killing even converted Indians. But old Opechankano himself escaped.

Three years later, in 1625, Governor Wyatt fought a battle with eight hundred Indian bowmen, led by that brother of the Powhatan, Opitchapan, whom Opechankano had deposed. Some sixteen Virginians were killed, but the Indians were compelled to retreat.

The Terrible Centenarian, 1644

In 1644, twenty-two years after the Great Massacre, Opechankano, then nearly a hundred years old, organized another attack. We have a striking description of him from contemporary writers. Thin, almost, as a skeleton, eyes closed so that he could see only when a companion raised his eyelids, unable to walk, and carried about upon a litter, he was nevertheless keen for vengeance upon the invaders. Three hundred white settlers perished in the region between the York and Pamunkey rivers. Then Governor Berkeley, at James City, raised an army and routed the Indians, capturing Opechankano himself, where he was killed by being shot in the back by one of his English guards, out of personal revenge. Thus



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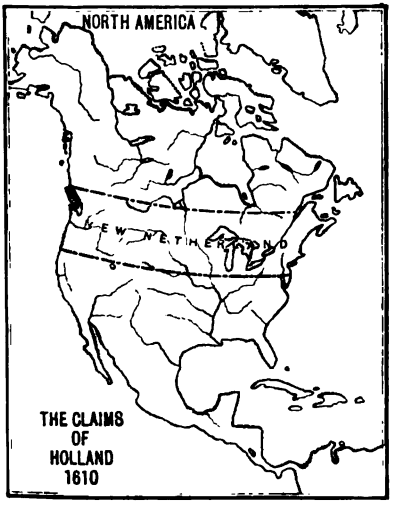

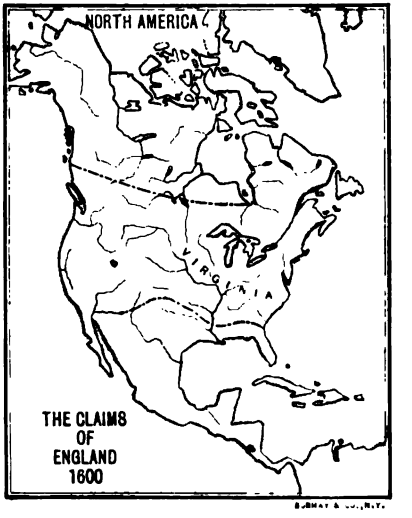

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ignobly died the last "Emperor" of the Powhatans, a victim to the meanest quality in the human race. His successors contented themselves with the humbler title of "King." For a hundred and thirty years thereafter, we hear but little of the Indians in Virginia history, save for their stirring up the trouble that developed into Bacon's Rebellion.

The Great Rebellion, 1675

Of the fundamental causes of that rebellion an account has been given earlier in this narrative. Its course may now be briefly traced. In the year 1675, an even century before the beginning of the War of Independence, there were among the freemen of Virginia "eight thousand horse," and the Indians were in absolute subjection. Alarmed by the progress of the whites in the exploration of the Alleghany region, a party of Doegs attacked the farms and villages in Stafford, were driven by the Virginians into Maryland, and stood at bay in a palisaded fort upon the site of the city of Washington. There five chiefs, who came out of the fort under a flag of truce, were killed, and the rest, making a sally in the moonlight, escaped to the Blue Ridge. By the following spring, all the frontier was in a state of the wildest excitement. Five hundred white men were in arms, when Governor Berkeley, fearing an insurrection against his government, ordered them to disband. In May, an overseer and a servant upon the plantation of Nathaniel Bacon, near Richmond, were killed by Indians. The governor refused to issue a commission to Bacon to go in pursuit of the Indians. According to the contemporary account, he "doubted Bacon's temper, as he appeared *popularly inclined, a constitution not*

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consistent with the times or the people's dispositions." When Bacon proceeded without the military commission, Berkeley sent after him a proclamation, denouncing him as a rebel. Some sixty horsemen, however, continued in the rebel's command. They found the Indians at Richmond, where the Virginians, wading "shoulder deep" through the stream, reached their stockade and killed a hundred and fifty of them, losing but three of their own men. Then Bacon marched back, leading a procession of Indian captives.

In the meantime, the people had risen in rebellion against Berkeley. Soon Bacon himself, though a newly elected Burgess, was arrested by the vigorous old campaigner and released upon parole. In the House of Burgesses, he read a confession "of unlawful, mutinous, and rebellious practices," and promised to "demean himself peaceably" thereafter. But the shrewd Governor then asserted the right of the Council to sit with the Burgesses. This was indeed the common custom elsewhere. To this proposition it was objected that the Burgesses ought not to "submit to be *overawed and have every carpt at expression carried straight to the Governor.*" While the politicians were debating this important point, in which democracy was the real issue, they found time to welcome the "Queen of Pamunkey" to their assembly. Cooke, the eloquent historian of Virginia, describes her as presenting upon this occasion a most picturesque appearance. She wore a crown of white and black wampum, and a robe of buckskin gorgeously decorated with fringes, and preserved a majestic mien. Her son, a grown man, whose father

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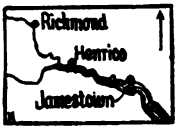
was said to be an English Colonel, stood at her side. She was not, however, very friendly to the English colonists, and promised at most but twelve Indians as allies against the hostile savages, for she bewailed her husband, who had been killed when helping the white men in battle and for whose loss no compensation had ever been made to her.

Bacon, being upon parole, was released to go to visit his wife upon his Henrico estate, but was suddenly arrested again, and then made his escape from the capital. "Mr. Lawrence," the Oxford graduate, who had married a rich widow and who conducted a tavern, was keeping the "pot of rebellion a-boiling" in the hope of injuring his old enemy, Berkeley, who as judge had robbed him, so he claimed, of a considerable estate. Lawrence and an old cousin, Nathaniel Bacon, senior, had warned the young rebel to flee from the tavern. From manor-houses in the lowlands, from log cabins in the uplands, the "well-armed housekeepers," bearing broadswords and "fusils," some five hundred in all, rallied to the standard of Bacon. They seized Jamestown. To the old Governor, the youthful rebel roared out in his delirium of anger because of his treatment, "I 'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly, and all, and then I 'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood." To the Burgesses he declared his purpose of "preserving our lives from the Indians, *inspecting the public revenues, the exorbitant taxes, and redressing the grievances and calamities of that deplorable country.*" Next day, Bacon was actually appointed General and Commander-in-Chief



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against the Indians, and was granted a pardon for his treason. The ancient story reads indeed like melodrama! And the Assembly wound up its session by actually proposing independence from England, and passing a "total abstinence" act.

Bacon and Berkeley

With his commission regularly issued, Bacon went against the Indians and terrified them into submission. But Berkeley was frightfully angry and once more posted Bacon everywhere in the colony as a traitor. Finding, however, few supporters west of the Chesapeake, he crossed the bay to Accomac. Bacon then returned to the heart of the colony, issued a "Remonstrance," protesting that he was not a traitor and asserting that the government was managed by "spunges that have sucked up and devoured the common treasury." He asked significantly, "What arts, sciences, schools of learning, or manufactures hath been promoted by any now in authority?" Immediately thereafter, by common consent and signature of "loyal prime gentlemen," Bacon became governor of Virginia, with a commission to fight against the royal governor, Sir William Berkeley. "Now," cried the people of Virginia, "we can build ships and, like New England, trade to any part of the world." Then Bacon,

the popular leader, the orator and demagogue, the "Cromwell of Virginia," went again upon the Indian trail and destroyed whole tribes of the red men. As for Berkeley, taking advantage of the treachery of a leader in the rebel party, and promising to volunteers the estates of the traitors, he secured a force of a

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thousand men in Accomac and some seventeen ships, and took Jamestown from the insurgents. Bacon then appeared in force before the works of the capital, and put certain captive ladies in the front of his army. The soldiers of the fiery old Cavalier would not shoot at these "dear white guards of the Devil," that is, of this surprising young gentleman, Nathaniel Bacon. But the "angells" were withdrawn, and the "rebel housekeepers" overwhelmingly defeated the "'longshoremen" of Berkeley. Jamestown was seized, and burned to ashes.

For the rest, Bacon met a whole regiment of Royalists, and by a brilliant, impassioned speech won them all to his cause. And then, suddenly, at Gloucester, he died, of disease probably; of poison, some said. His friends buried his body so secretly that none have ever found the place of burial. An attempt was made to carry on the rebellion, but Berkeley was soon triumphant over the new leaders. Thus ended the four months' warfare, the most exciting, significant, and dramatic in early colonial history.

A Sudden Death

In the colonies south of Virginia, we hear of no serious troubles with the Indians. They were of the same tribes whose representatives a hundred years before had received so hospitably the English sailors and settlers, as recorded earlier in this narrative. North of Virginia, in Maryland, Lord Baltimore granted to the Indians a reservation of some eight thousand acres upon the river Wicomoco. This was better as well as cheaper

In Maryland

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than fighting them. In 1675, at the time of the Indian outbreaks in Virginia, it was a Maryland militia leader, Major Thomas Trueman, who put to death the five Susquehannock envoys; for this violation of the flag of truce, he was impeached though not convicted. The Indians of Maryland, almost as much as those in Pennsylvania, were under the terror of the Five Nations, those great friends of the English. Neither in Pennsylvania nor in Delaware, from the time of the first Dutch and Swedish settlements to the end of the seventeenth century, do we hear of serious trouble between the white men and the red. The former came as traders and farmers and in but small numbers until 1682, and made reasonably good friends of the aborigines by paying them for their lands and for their furs.

In New York

In New Amsterdam, the first serious struggle with the Indians began in 1640, when William Kieft, the governor, resolved to "demand some tribute" from the neighboring savages "whom we have thus far defended against their enemies," and added menacingly that he would take vigorous measures if they manifested "reluctance." It was a dangerous threat. The Indians of New Netherland understood well the real condition of the colony. They had traded with the Dutch, had eaten and become drunk in their houses and taverns, had served them as hirelings, and had stolen goods from their ships and farms, in short, had seen their strength and their weakness. The Dutch traders in the North had sold to the Iroquois muskets for twenty beaver-skins, and soon there were four hundred braves of the Mohawk tribe with the dreaded

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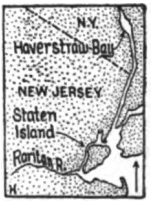
weapon of the white invaders. The local government had not allowed, and indeed had successfully prevented, the trading of firearms with the neighboring Indians. There were two reasons, consequently, for the Indian outbreak, one, the threat of Kieft, the other, the disaffection of the neighboring Indians because the remoter Iroquois, their enemies, had been favored by the white men. Some servants of the Dutch West India Company stole several hogs that belonged to De Vries and to the Company, and were in the care of a Negro upon Staten Island. Kieft imputed the blame to the Raritan Indians, who lived twenty miles west in New Jersey, and sent an expedition against them. Thus began an Indian war that lasted five years and was one of the worst in the seventeenth century in America.

The Long Indian War

Next year, the Raritans retaliated, and killed four white men upon Staten island. To this, Director Kieft replied by offering a bounty of twenty fathoms of wampum (value about ten or twelve gulden, in modern money perhaps as many dollars) for the head of each of the murderers and of ten fathoms for each of the heads of any other Raritans. Their enemies, the Haverstraw Indians, promptly attacked the Raritans. The doctrine of "blood-atonement" was soon in full operation. The Indians regarded the whites as a tribe, and began to exact full satisfaction for the murders, manslaughters, and other wrongs of individuals since the first white men sojourned in the Hudson valley. It is undesirable to follow all the bloody details of



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the years that followed. In all, some eleven tribes of Indians were embroiled. There were occasional truces and treaties between the whites and the various Indian tribes. In 1643, at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook the Indians, caught by surprise, were murdered as ruthlessly as the Pequots had been a few years before in New England. The most terrible struggle took place, in 1644, at Strickland's Plains, beyond Stamford, where some five hundred, possibly seven hundred, Connecticut Indians were burned to death in a palisaded village. In that same year, Kieft received a reinforcement of some hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers who had been sent by Peter Stuyvesant from Curaçao in the West Indies. In 1645, Kieft succeeded in making a treaty with the Mohawks at Fort Orange, and the River Indians were cowed into submission. In these five years of bloodshed, sixteen hundred Indians had perished, and all the outlying settlements of the Europeans had been destroyed. Upon Manhattan island, there had been left but one hundred white traders. Of all the Dutch settlements, only Rensselaerwyck and the villages upon the South river had escaped loss.

This Indian war was a severe blow to New Amsterdam. It resulted in the departure of David Pietersen de Vries to Holland, never to return; he was considerably the noblest character in early New Amsterdam history, an enterprising, philanthropic, broad-minded colonizer. So impoverished was the colony that neither the new schoolhouse nor the new church could be finished for

The Resultant Poverty

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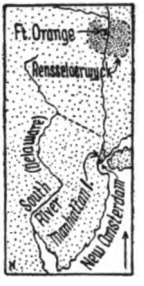
several years. Even the "poor fund" for the relief of distress was used for the maintenance of soldiers. Everywhere was ruin "through a foolish hankering after war," as the "Eight Men" wrote in their memorial to the West India Company. "For all right-thinking men here know that these Indians have lived as lambs among us, until a few years ago; injuring no man; affording every assistance to our nation." The result of the memorial was that the College of the XIX. sent a new governor, Stuyvesant, who, though sufficiently warlike, had no "hankering" for bloodshed. In his governorship, there were several conflicts with the red men; in 1655, when nineteen hundred of them attacked New Amsterdam and won a temporary victory; in 1658, when Esopus was attacked, as it was again in 1663; and in 1664, when the east bank of the Hudson was devastated by Mohegans.



There is in American history perhaps no other minor episode of war so well known as the famous "Pequot War." Its relative importance does not warrant the space usually accorded to it in historical narratives. The Pequots were the Iroquois of New England, brave, fierce, arrogant. In 1633, a party of them had murdered eight English traders, traveling by boat up the Connecticut river. In 1636, another party killed pioneer John Oldham, upon Block island. Governor Endicott retaliated by ravaging the island. In the following winter, the Pequots attacked the new villages of the English upon the

The Pequots in Connecticut

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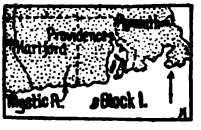
Connecticut. In the spring, Massachusetts and Plymouth sent aid. Near Stonington upon the Mystic, the seventy-seven Englishmen with their four hundred Indian allies, Narragansetts, Nyantics, and Mohegans, surprised the palisaded village of the Pequots, and with bullets, tomahawks, and flame killed all but five of the four (or perhaps seven) hundred villagers. The Pequot chief Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, who unhesitatingly scalped him, and sent the scalp to the English at Boston as a token of good will. The remaining Pequots were relentlessly hunted down and killed, though a few survived by adoption into other Indian tribes.



The military heroes of this brief campaign were Captains John Mason and John Underhill; but the really greatest service was rendered by Roger Williams of Rhode Island, who persuaded the Narragansetts to ally themselves rather with the white men than with their brothers of the woods. Thereafter, peace reigned in New England for thirty-eight years a peace bought at a great price in Indian lives, yet so important and so necessary that it, more than anything else, accounts for the surpassing prosperity of the whole region compared with any other in America.

King Philip's War

The greatest of all Indian wars in the seventeenth century was King Philip's War, which was the fulfillment of what Sassacus, the Pequot, had hoped to accomplish. In 1675, there were several warlike Indian tribes in New England. Philip, son of Massasoit, who died in 1660, was a bitter enemy of the "praying Indians," whom Eliot

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had gathered into towns. He believed that his older brother, Wamsutta, had died, in 1662, at Plymouth, from poison rather than disease. In fact, he died of a combination of too much alcoholic liquor and of a fever that was probably pneumonia. Thirteen years passed while Philip nursed his dreams of revenge and of power. In 1674, John Sausamon, a convert of the Massachusetts tribe, who had studied for a time at Harvard College, had served King Philip as a messenger, and had taught school among the "praying Indians," informed Governor Winslow of Plymouth that an Indian conspiracy was developing. Philip heard of this betrayal, as he considered it, and three Wampanoags soon caught Sausamon and strangled him, throwing the body into a pond, where it was found several months later. The murderers were convicted and put to death. In midsummer of 1675, the pretty village of Swanzey was fired and sacked; and the bodies of the whites were fiendishly mutilated.

Such was the beginning of the great war in which Metacoma, chief of the Wampanoags, commonly called King Philip, made his name immortal. The Nipmucks, a degraded tribe, and the Narragansetts,

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a superior tribe, joined the Wampanoags. Dartmouth, Middleboro, Taunton, and Mendon were burned. Captain Hutchinson, eldest son of Anne Hutchinson, was killed by an ambush, when on his way to discuss terms of peace. In August, Brookfield was destroyed. At Hadley, the Indians were repulsed, it is said, under the ghostly leadership of the regicide, William Goffe. But whether the tale of the stately man with the flowing white beard be true or not, the village was saved as by a miracle. At Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northfield other battles took place. The "Flower of Essex," the ninety men under Captain Lothrop, were ambushed and slain by seven hundred Nipmucks at Bloody Brook, South Deerfield. To overthrow the Narragansetts a force of a thousand men was organized. Their chief was Canonchet, son of Miantonomo, whom the pious divines of Massachusetts had delivered up to Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, to slay when he was a fugitive among the Puritans. On the morning of Sunday, December 19, 1675, the thousand men attacked the two thousand Narragansetts in a palisaded village, with a blockhouse, in a great swamp at South Kingston, Rhode Island. The Massachusetts men attacked the fortress by way of a narrow path with a bridge of a single log across an intervening stream, while the Connecticut men attacked in the rear, crossing upon the ice of the frozen swamp. Many of the Indians had firearms; yet half of them perished there, while a quarter of the English were killed or severely wounded. The rest of the Indians fled in the heavy snowstorm of the night,

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for the bloody battle lasted from twilight to twilight. Canonchet himself escaped.

The next event of importance was the attack of the Nipmucks upon Lancaster, quickly followed by attacks upon a dozen other villages between Boston and Springfield. At Turner's Falls, Captain William Turner broke the power of the Nipmucks by killing three hundred of them. In Rhode Island, Providence and Warwick were burned, but Canonchet was captured. The Mohegans, the allies of the English, tomahawked him as they did his father. The chronicler says that Canonchet impressed him as if "some Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western pagan." Then the Connecticut soldiers, in four fights, killed several hundred of the surviving Narragansetts. Captain Benjamin Church, the redoubtable Massachusetts leader, drove Philip into his favorite hiding-place at Bristol Neck, where he was betrayed by an Indian whose brother he had slain for advising him to surrender. There Metacoma, King Philip, the instigator and unsuccessful leader in the war, fell dead when fleeing; and the hand that fired the shot was the hand of an Indian comrade. This victory put an end to the war in lower New England, but at this very time the Indians of Maine rose against the whites and destroyed nearly every village from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec. The war was not entirely ended until 1678.

The Ruin of Massachusetts and Rhode Island

In this dreadful King Philip's War, more than a thousand white men and several hundred women and children perished. Threescore towns and villages were burned. Only Connecticut

Results

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escaped, for the Mohegans were friendly. The war debt of Plymouth exceeded all the personal assets of all the colonists. Money for the relief of that colony was raised in Ireland. How many of the Indians perished in all is not known, but though they were thirty thousand in number at the beginning of the war, at its end their tribal organizations were almost wholly destroyed. The Indians of New England as a body never again rose to attack the English. Many of the captives were sold into slavery in the West Indies and in Morocco in pursuance of a policy that in all history has been a pathetic feature of race struggles. Some whole tribes migrated northward or westward. Many individuals, influenced by the continued teaching of Eliot, adopted the ways and dress of the white men and were soon absorbed into the general mass of the population.

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CHAPTER II

KING WILLIAM'S WAR

1688–1697

THE War of the Palatinate involved America because the new English King, William III., was concerned in it as Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic before he came to the throne. It was so called because that poor Rhenish province was once more in history swept by fire and sword pitilessly. In 1685, "Louis le Grand" of France had revoked the Edict of Nantes by which the Huguenots had enjoyed a measure of religious liberty for a century. In 1686, William of Orange, incited by the results of the revocation, had organized the "League of Augsburg" to resist further aggressions of the French monarch. In 1688, when active hostilities began, the Palatinate was laid waste by the French army, but abandoned. The "Grand Alliance" against him followed,—England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, the Empire, the Palatine Electorate, Bavaria, and Saxony. In the tremendous

William III. and Louis XIV.

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war that followed, Louis was able to hold several towns and cities, including Strasburg, as the final result of nine years of the shedding of blood and the pouring out of treasure.

America was involved in this war, because William of Orange, whom Louis mightily hated and was beginning to fear, became King of England and therefore of the English colonies; because James Stuart, when he fled, throwing his crown into the Thames river, took refuge with Louis and plotted with that real king to seize his old province of York on the plea that William was a usurper; and because Louis dreamed that by seizing the Hudson valley he might split the English colonies in twain.

At this juncture in affairs, the great Count Frontenac, formerly governor of Canada, was living in comparative retirement and in decidedly poor circumstances at the French capital. In his seventieth year, the fires of his soul still burned strong and steady. Canada was in the deepest misery and poverty. The paralysis of the Iroquois invasion was upon her. There had been no fur-trade for two years, no agriculture, no hunting. Louis had heard the tale of distress. Would Frontenac again go to Canada, as governor, without new troops and without money, and redeem the people from their terror? The old man asked nothing else.

Frontenac

There was a question in issue between England and France, and that question was, to which nation the Iroquois owed allegiance. In 1689, there had occurred the most frightful massacre in Canadian history, when fifteen hundred Iroquois swooped down upon La Chine and

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destroyed it, killing two hundred people, carrying away nearly as many more as captives and leaving the survivors ruined. When Frontenac arrived, he found La Chine in ashes and Montreal in a state of collapse from fear. Further, Fort Frontenac had been partially destroyed at the very moment of his arrival, by Canadian soldiers under the orders of the former governor Denonville, and at the demand of the Iroquois. After a few preliminary moves, the terrible Count organized three expeditions, not against the Iroquois,—whom he knew he could not overcome,—but against the English, one to go from Montreal against Albany, a second to go from Three Rivers against New Hampshire, and a third to go from Quebec against Maine. Thus began King William's War in America.

It is a brilliant picture that our greatest American historian, Francis Parkman, draws of the progress of the first of these expeditions. Somewhat more than half of the two hundred men were Canadian wood-rangers, the rest were Christianized Iroquois. They moved swiftly over the snow and ice of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers to Lake Champlain, and in eight days reached the Hudson. A thaw so delayed them that they were nine days more in reaching Schenectady, a palisaded village, and the farthest outpost of the colony of New York. All its white settlers were Dutch. There, in the dead of night, they struck their overwhelming

The Attacks

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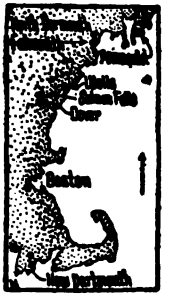
blow. Sixty persons were killed, ninety were captured, a few escaped to Albany. Thirty Mohawks were carefully spared. Then the French and Iroquois retreated, taking with them only the strongest of the prisoners. A party of men from Albany, including Mohawks, followed the French and took fifteen captives almost under the walls of Montreal.

In Maine and in New Hampshire, the struggles between the Indians and the settlers began in 1688. North Yarmouth and New Dartmouth were the first places to fall. In 1689, Dover was seized. Pemaquid was captured soon afterwards. Early in 1690, the French expedition burned Newichawannok (Salmon Falls). In May, five hundred French and Indians took a hundred prisoners at Falmouth. New England then prepared an expedition against Port Royal. The leader was a man of virile and interesting personality, Sir William Phips. He was of very humble origin, physically a giant, despite the fact that he was one of twenty-six children of the same father and mother. He had been knighted for success in the exploit of locating a Spanish treasure-ship, wrecked in the West Indies, and of taking from it some three hundred thousand pounds' value of gold, silver, and jewels. Of this amount, his English backers allowed him to keep the respectable fortune of sixteen thousand pounds. He was perhaps the first famous American who liked to boast that he was a "self-made man." With five hundred soldiers and two hundred sailors, this vigorous but uncouth leader appeared before

Phips



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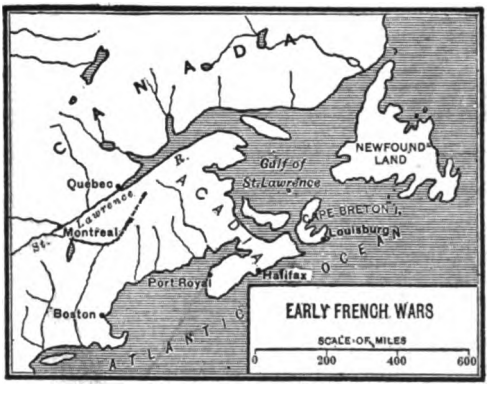
Port Royal and forced the immediate surrender of its little garrison of seventy men. The disgraceful fact is that the place was then sacked as though it had been taken by siege; by which plundering the rapacious Phips considerably benefited himself.

Before this expedition set out, there was held, at New York, a congress of delegates from Massachusetts, New York, Plymouth, Connecticut, and the Iroquois, by whom it was suggested. After the success at Port Royal, by which all Acadia was won, though not held by garrisons, Massachusetts organized a naval expedition against Quebec. Some twenty-two hundred men were brought together in thirty-two ships, great and small, under the command of Sir William. A land expedition made ready to go from Albany. In the meantime, the Indians of the Great Lakes had poured out upon Frontenac and the French all the treasure of beaver and other skins saved for two and three years past. Canada was prosperous again. There was a mighty war-feast in celebration of the new epoch. Two oxen, six dogs, two barrels of wine, and abundance of tobacco and prunes were consumed. Then the Indians withdrew. When Phips arrived, he found

Quebec



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three thousand men in arms. Then he landed a force and tried to capture the city. Then he brought his ships into range with the fort, and a grand artillery battle took place. But he knew too little about warfare to make an effective attack. Discouraged, the expedition turned back and sailed for home; the "heretics" had been foiled by the "papists"; and once more Quebec rejoiced. In Massachusetts, they called the defeat "this awful frown of God." Instead of being enriched by the plunder of Quebec, they were impoverished still further, and they were as yet by no means recovered from the losses from King Philip's War.

Treaty of Ryswick

The land expedition from New York dwindled to the size of an attacking party of forty white men and a hundred Mohawks who destroyed the fort of La Prairie opposite Montreal. The next year, a second party twice as large was sent into Canada, and a battle resulted that according to Frontenac was the most "hot and stubborn" ever fought there. The hero upon the English side was Peter Schuyler of Albany, whose victory did much to offset the effect of the disaster at Schenectady. In January, 1693, a force of six hundred French and Indians met a similar force of the English and Indians, without decisive result. Thereafter, quiet reigned for three years, when, in 1696, Frontenac invaded the Iroquois territory only to find the Oneidas and Onandagas departed. In the meantime, the wretched war had persisted in Maine, where, in 1692, five hundred French and Indians had been repulsed at Wells by the fort and two sloops in the harbor. In 1696, the French, under D'Iberville, a

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successful leader, again captured Pemaquid. He also secured St. John's, Newfoundland, and the fort at Hudson bay. In the following year, by the Treaty of Ryswick, the war in both hemispheres was formally brought to a close. By the terms of this treaty it was agreed that:

"VII. The most Christian King shall restore to the said King of Great Britain, all countries, islands, forts, and colonies wheresoever situated, which the English did possess before the declaration of this present war" [and *vice versa*].

"VIII. Commissioners shall be appointed on both sides, to examine and determine the rights and pretensions which either of the said Kings hath to the places situated in Hudson's Bay; but the possession of those places which were taken by the French during that peace that preceded this present war, and were retaken by the English during this war, shall be left to the French, by virtue of the foregoing article."

By virtue of this treaty, Port Royal was formally returned to France, which also claimed eastern Sagadahoc as part of Nova Scotia. King William's War effected nothing of definite gain to the English at home or abroad. By its operations Frontenac rehabilitated New France; and both England and France bound to themselves definite Indian allies, from which flowed vital influences in all the wars of the eighteenth century in America, including the War of Independence.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—WAR, 1607–1697

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]
1607, Va.—Capt. Smith an Indian prisoner seven weeks.
1613, Va.—Capt. Argall burns French settlement at Mount Desert I.
1614, Va.—Argall destroys buildings of a French colony at St. Croix river, burns a deserted hamlet of Port Royal (Nova Scotia), and destroys Dutch cabins on Manhattan I.——N. Y.—The Dutch build forts on Manhattan I. and near Albany.

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1615, N. Y.—Champlain defeats the Iroquois Indians.
1621, Va.—Settlers raid Indian villages.——Mass.—Standish studies the Indians. Plymouth sends 14 armed men to awe Indians.
1622, Va.—Indians massacre 347 colonists and destroy 72 settlements out of 80.
1623, Mass.— Standish with 8 men defeats Indians at Weymouth. —— N. Y.—Ft. Orange built.—— N. J.—Ft. Nassau built.——Va.—Settlers drive Indians inland.
1631, Del.—Settlers at Lewiston murdered by Indians.
1633, Conn.—Indians murder crew of a trading vessel.——N. Y.—Ft. Amsterdam begun (4 Bowling Green).
1635, Md.—Naval fight between Clayborne and colonists.——Me.—Penobscot trading post seized by the French.——Conn.—Dutch driven out and a fort built at Saybrook.
1636–7, R. I., Mass., and Conn.—The Pequot War.——Md.—Clayborne skirmish.
1640–1, N. Y.—Indian attacks.
1642–3, Md.—Indian outbreaks.
1643, N. Y.—Kieft massacres friendly Indians. Trouble follows.——Conn.—Colonists approve murder of Miantonomoh.
1644, N. Y., N. J., and Conn.—Indian conflicts.——Va.—Second Indian massacre (300 colonists killed).
1645, N. Y. and New Eng.—Peace treaties with Indians.
1646–7, Md.—Rebellion of Clayborne.
1649, Mich.—Indians massacre missionaries at St. Ignatius.
1651, Del.—Dutch and Swede conflict.
1652, Eng.—Parliament sends naval force against Virginians who favor Chas. II.
1653, New Eng.—War against Niantic Indians.——R. I.—War declared against New York——N. Y.—Wall built across Manhattan I. for military defence (Wall St.).
1654–5, Md.—Civil war between Protestants and Catholics.———Dutch of N. Y. and Swedes of Del. at war.
1654–8, Md.—Rebellion of colonists.
1655, N. Y.—Indian rebellion.
1663, N. Y.—Several Indian attacks.
1664.—N. Y. and Del. captured by the British.
1665, N. Y.—Peace treaty with Indians.——Fla.—St. Augustine captured by Eng. buccaneers.
1667, Mass.—Indian ravages.
1668.—Me. coerced by Mass. military force.
1671, Mass.—Boston training-days—1200 men in military force.
1672, Mass.—War declared against the Dutch.——Md. invades Del.——Pa.—The 5 nations annihilate the Susquehannock tribe. —— Carolina. — Spanish attack settlers.
1673, Mass.—Medfield devasted by Indians.——N. J. and N. Y. taken by the Dutch.
1674.—N. Y. surrendered to the British by treaty.
1675, Va.—Indians revenge abuses.——Conn.—Andros uses armed force to establish his authority.
1675–6.—King Philip's War. (Mass. and R. I.)
1676, Va.—Rebellion of Bacon—Indian hostilities.——Me.—Indians subdued at Coheco.
1677, Mass.—Indian slaughter whites at Hatfield.
1678.—Treaty of peace with Indians.
1681, Ill.—Ft. St. Louis built.
1682.—Carolina settlers war with Indians to capture them for slaves.
1684, Mass., N. Y., and Va.—Indian peace treaties. (?)
1686, S. C.—Spanish destroy the Port Royal settlement.
1688, Me.—Fort Andros built.
1689–97.—King William's War. (N. Y., Mass., Conn., and N. H.)

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Part Three

Industry

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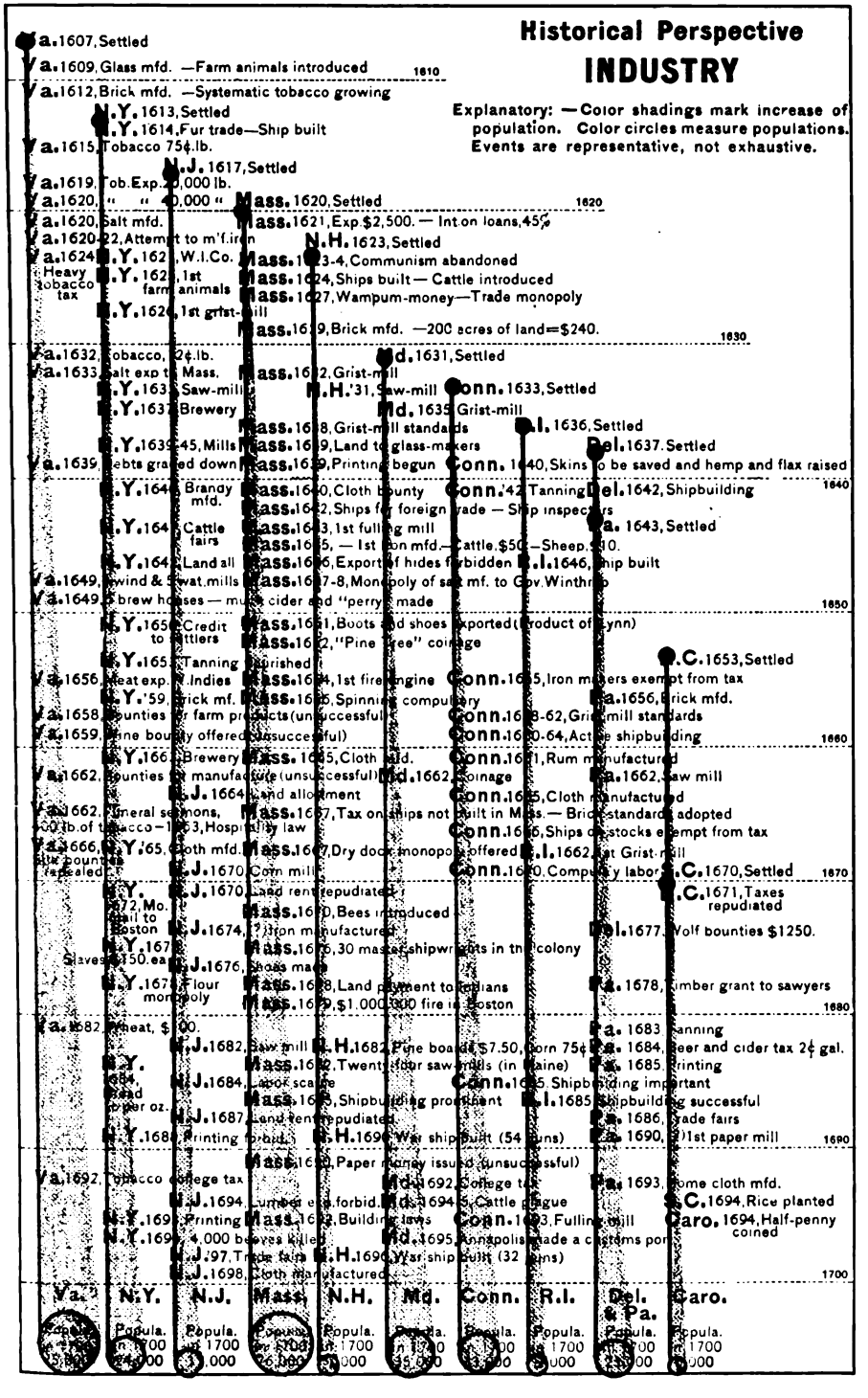
Historical Perspective

INDUSTRY

Explanatory: —Color shadings mark increase of population. Color circles measure populations. Events are representative, not exhaustive.



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CHAPTER I

EARLY COLONIAL AGRICULTURE

1607–1697

THREE hundred years ago, in the dawn of the seventeenth century, a new world was opened to industry as well as to religion. Feudal despotism, which hampered the beginnings of European nations, was not successful in America; but the thought of it came. It was the expectation of many of those who planned and started the New World colonies, to live in luxury on the labor of others.

Industrial Feudalism

The ships that brought the first colonists brought also supplies that were calculated to last until food could be produced, but most of those whom it was to feed had little wish to become producers. Some were paupers, and some were hangers-on, whom their friends had been glad to induce to go across the ocean. Some were criminals, released from jails and prisons. In many instances, these men, while demanding their share of the food, refused to work, were soon reduced to starvation, sickened, and died. Experience taught the leaders to secure as colonists a different type of men. Through such an improvement in the quality of the colonists, by rigid laws, and by a fair division of rewards, there was developed a spirit of industry.

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Land, which at first was all held by the colonizing companies, only the product being divided among the colonists, was later parceled out, and finally provision was made for individual ownership. This was the first effective step toward colonial success. After this, the worker had an incentive to work. Private land, even when not freehold, meant a home. It meant that the crops raised by the landowner were to be his own, after paying a tax to support the government. It meant, when he planned and worked well, a larger reward than that which came to an idle, thriftless neighbor. Then men began to feel that, indeed, they were in a free land, each man the master of his own toil, and the owner of his own product.

Equal Shares

In the Southern Colonies, prosperity came chiefly through the growth and sale of tobacco, rice, and cotton. In the Northern, it came through shipbuilding, fishery, and ocean commerce. In the Middle Colonies, fur-trading was at first a prominent industry, followed by general commerce and manufacture.

In all the colonies, whatever the sources of wealth, agriculture had first and constant attention, for by agriculture came the daily bread. Francis A. Walker speaks of the men who gave final character to the American Colonies as "a wonderful stock, a vigorous breed . . . a peaceful and thrifty set of men who, if not farmers to begin with, largely became farmers, from the necessity of the case."

Farms

This explains why agriculture succeeded, for no others than sturdy lovers of toil could have achieved

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so signal a victory, where there were climates and soils totally different from those left behind, and where the wild grasses were of low food value for animal life. Each farmer had to win his personal battle almost alone. No newspapers, no railroads, no agricultural societies disseminated knowledge and heralded the success of one, making it the success of all.

In a broad sense, during these early years all were farmers. So true is this, and so long did it remain true, and so highly esteemed were these toilers of the soil, that not only were colonial officers and statesmen drawn largely from farms, but more than half of our presidents had been in youth actual farmers or farmers' sons, born and bred on small farms.

Quoting again from Francis A. Walker, "Agriculture has been the chief and most characteristic work of the American people . . . that in which their economic superiority has been most strikingly manifest." Outlining results to 1880 he continues: "That which has allowed this work to be done so rapidly and fortunately, has been, first, the popular tenure of the soil, and, secondly, the character of the agricultural class." Especially designating those

> "north of the Potomac and Ohio . . . they have been the same kind of men, precisely out of the same homes, generally with the same early training, as those who filled the learned professions, or who were engaged in manufacturing or commercial pursuits. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that the chief manufacture of the United States, thus far, has been the manufacture of four million farms, comprising five hundred forty million acres."

Still more is this true to-day, with the record of

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five and three quarter million farms comprising eight hundred fifty million acres, an increase of over fifty per cent. in farm area since the skilful Census Director made his well-founded comment.

Experiments

Prominent among the many European plants that the colonists tried to raise in America were hemp, indigo, rice, cotton, millet, spelt, madder, lentils, lucerne, sanfoin, woad, melilot, rape, and colza. These were tried over and over again in nearly every locality from Maine to Carolina. With some of these plants unsuccessful experiments continued over two hundred years.

In the warmer regions, cinnamon and allspice were tried. Silk had its widely distributed and widely varied experience; and, by the time of the Revolutionary War, so carefully had the long list been culled that only two domestic plants of sufficient importance to be enumerated in the census tables (sorghum and sugar beets) have since been introduced.

Corn

While the first settlers brought shiploads of food to serve for a few months, one of their first concerns was to provide food for the succeeding months and years. In this, they were greatly helped by the native Indians, who were cultivators of maize, or "Indian Corn," or, as it is known in the United States, corn. They showed the colonists how to plant and to raise this important food; and the failure of a corn crop was, at times, almost fatal. For example: In *Young's Chronicles of Plymouth* it is stated that in its second season, the colony planted sixty acres of corn; but the following year, a drouth destroyed the corn, and their principal food was wild

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artichoke tubers, fish, and clams, with an occasional wild fowl or deer; and that bread was sometimes unknown for months together.

All records of the early colonists show that corn was their main reliance for food, although they liked wheat better, the seed for which they brought with them from Europe. They had to learn slowly how to raise wheat, for the soils and climates were very different from those of their European homes, and many of the earlier attempts were sorely disappointing failures.

Not only did the Indians teach the settlers how to raise corn; they also sold them corn of their own raising; and the settlers thus added to their own product by barter, and sometimes also by intrigue and by "appropriation." Because of this source of supply, and because, under the prevailing conditions, corn was much easier to raise than wheat, it was a chief element in the garner of the early colonists.

New England Kitchens

It is natural, therefore, that in the pictures of "New England Kitchens," clusters of corn-ears braided together by their husks, hung up for next year's seed, make a prominent feature. Incidentally, because in the corn-field the ready growing pumpkin thrives almost like a wild weed, it is easy to understand why pumpkin pie became a favorite colonial food.

Nor is it only because corn is an excellent food for man that it took a prominent place in colonial agriculture. The value of its leaves and smaller stalks and of the ripened grain as a food for farm animals added not a little to its rank. These reasons,

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together with repeated failures to raise the ordinary European crops, served to give to corn a large prominence. In many instances, laws were passed to regulate the corn trade with the Indians. At times it was unlawful to carry any of it out of the colony, and in certain cases, it was accepted in payment of taxes.

Some early records suggest the making of molasses from the juice of corn-stalks. That must have been in the eighteenth century, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that, throughout Europe, sugar was "a costly luxury and article of medicine only, till the 18th century, when the increasing use of tea and coffee brought it into the list of principal food staples." We may therefore think of the American colonists as practically sugarless during the first century of their New-World experience.

Prevented Failure

Corn probably saved some of the colonies from extermination and certainly prevented untold poverty and suffering in all the colonies. Indeed, it is not easy to understand how any of the colonies could have succeeded without it. Such records as exist, seem to indicate that dependence upon raising other crops would have meant starvation outright in all the colonies, before experience in agriculture under new conditions had bred success, or at least sufficient success to sustain life.

Corn had little export, as Europeans did not like it. There was little intercolonial sale, as each colony usually raised its own crop. However, while it has no place in the statistics of wealth or prosperity in any of the colonies, its silent power was greater

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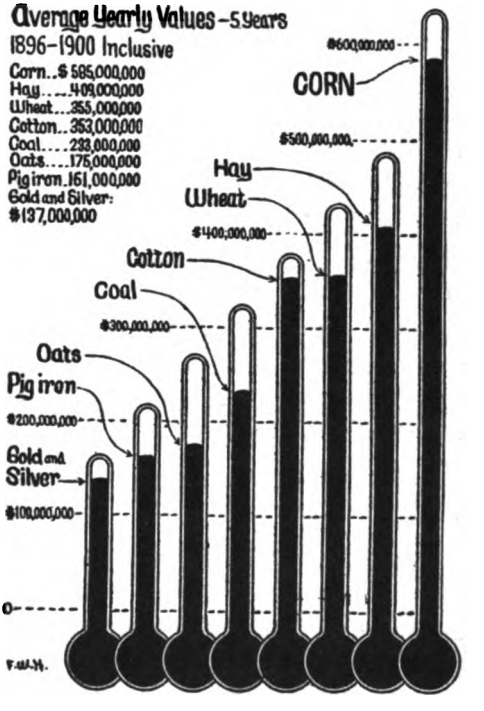
than that of any other wealth product, for it fed the lives that won the wealth and prosperity of all the colonies.

Thus, through three centuries, corn has held the foremost place. Reckoned at money-value, could such reckoning be made, then as now it outranked any other single product of the soil, vegetable or mineral. It attracts little attention as compared with wheat or cotton, while, in the popular view, the much smaller iron product outclasses them all.



Corn, therefore, is as the hidden foundation that upholds the magnificent cathedral. No other nation is so fortified as is ours in fundamental resources. Corn gives the crowning strength and value to our millions upon millions of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, whose combined values as far outrank the value of the corn as corn does that of oats, —threefold. These animals furnish the power that tills the soil to raise our double billion-dollar crops and to move them over their first journey by wagon

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on their way to home and foreign markets. They furnish, as well, a mighty element of food to give the human toiler strength in field and forest, camp and mine, in shop and office, court and pulpit, both here at home and oversea.

Without our crop of corn our whole foundation shrinks amazingly. We seldom pause to think how much. Few of us measure what we do not see.

Among the strikingly spectacular products of colonial years, tobacco stands pre-eminent. Several explorers of the sixteenth century carried to Europe samples of tobacco and of pipes, which they found in use by the natives of the New World. Europeans took to its use with avidity. It is not surprising, therefore, that tobacco became suddenly valuable as a crop to raise in Virginia and to sell in Europe, and that when the infant colony was only ten years old Governor Argall, upon his arrival at Jamestown, found almost everything else neglected and all the colonists raising tobacco, even in "the Market Place, Streets, and all other Spare Places."

Tobacco

The colonists seem to have gone mad as men go mad in newly discovered gold regions. Two years later they sent twenty thousand pounds to England, and the same year King James I., who opposed its use, issued his famous decree of a tax intended to stop its shipment to England by discouraging its production in Virginia. In spite of the tax, however, forty thousand pounds were sent to England the following year. King James had not, however, laid a tax against selling tobacco to the Dutchmen in Holland, who evidently were already great smokers, so

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that the colonists sold their increasing product to the Dutchmen at a better bargain, leaving the English smokers to curse their King for his tobacco tax. The records show that the sale to England was again resumed, and, still later, that Virginia was forbidden to sell to the Dutchmen and to any other country than England.

The neglect of other crops was so disadvantageous to the London Company, and to the general interests of the colonists, that many strict laws were passed intended to limit the production of tobacco. For example: "to one hundred plantes ye headd, uppon eache of wch plantes there are to be left butt nyne leaves." So profitable was the tobacco crop that laws were, however, of small avail to check its increase. Authoritative records show that twenty years after King James I. tried to stop an export of twenty thousand pounds, Virginia was exporting a million and a half pounds per year, and that the increase continued until at the close of the period (1607–1697) embraced in this Volume, the average sale was eighteen million pounds per year.

Restriction

In nearly all the colonies, tobacco-raising for export or for home use began with settlement. After Virginia, Connecticut furnishes perhaps the most interesting example. Seven years after its earliest settlement, it prohibited the use of any but Connecticut-grown tobacco. A few years later the colony enacted that persons under twenty years of age and certain others should use tobacco only under direction of a physician, and no one should use it publicly upon the streets. In its earlier years

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Pennsylvania exported some tobacco, and Maryland and North Carolina became large exporters, but no other colony compared at all with Virginia in this remarkable product.

Tobacco Laws

The early records relating to tobacco present many other interesting details. Not only were laws passed to limit its production; equally futile laws were made to fix the price, which nevertheless followed the one unbreakable law of supply and demand, fluctuating up and down, and finally dropping to a ruinous rate. This brought the tobacco-mad colonists to sanity again and turned their attention to a wider range of production, and to a general betterment of southern colonial conditions.

Rigid inspection laws were enacted. The size of tobacco hogsheads was fixed and their marks, or brands, specified. During a dispute between Governor Culpepper of Virginia and the colonial House of Burgesses, the inhabitants riotously cut up the young tobacco plants in the seed-beds. Frauds were discovered, such as shipping tobacco in barrels marked "Beef" and "Pork," and hiding it under other products, to escape taxation. At the same time it appears that much attention was given by careful growers to the development of several well-defined varieties, and also to the influence of soil and location, and to the methods of preparing the leaves for market.

The entire tobacco product at the close of the seventeenth century was raised within the settled area of the accompanying map. The dots locate the production of the present time (1900).

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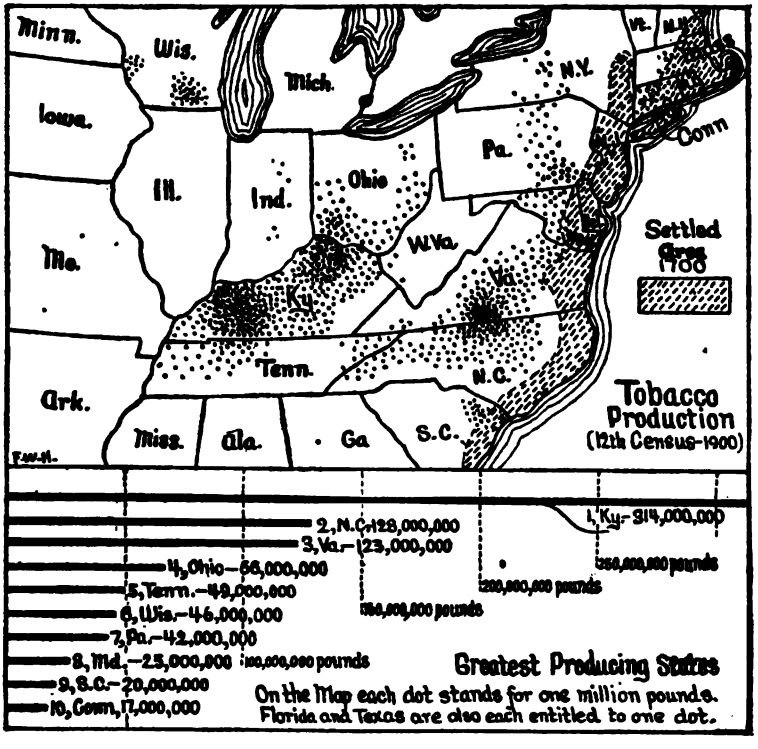
While the historical accounts group tobacco, rice, and cotton as the principal wealth products of the southern colonies, yet tobacco held the field alone almost a hundred years before rice made its first bow to the financial world, and fully a century and



a half before cotton entered the arena. Therefore, to mark the first full hundred years of agricultural success, we write two emphatic words: CORN and TOBACCO.

Minor Farm Products

The cultivation of rye made good progress; for the colonists found it an excellent grain to mix with corn for bread and, besides, it was less expensive to grow than

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wheat. "Rye and Indian" was a common and a favorite food throughout New England and the Middle Colonies until well into the nineteenth century.

Buckwheat cakes held a choice place in the colonial bill of fare. Perhaps the chief reason for this was that the poorest of soils, with even a minimum of effort on the part of the farmer, produce a remunerative crop. The long, severe winters made these hot breakfast cakes a most welcome food with which to begin the frosty days. Buckwheat must therefore be entered with rye, in the colonial crop list to make the second pair of agricultural products, following corn and tobacco, during the first century of the life of the whites in English America.

Following rye and buckwheat came wheat and oats, struggling at every step with the new soil and strange climate of the New World, so different from those of their European homes. Evidently wheat was given special attention, as it could be sold in foreign markets, and so bring money into the colonies. Massachusetts sold at least a little during the panic. Virginia has a record of wheat-planting about the middle of the century, and New York and New Jersey exported some toward the close of the century. In view of twentieth-century facts, it seems strange to write these two names down as the third pair in the agricultural roster of the first colonial century.

Barley bread was the common food of most of the ancient civilized nations and the principal food of ancient armies, and was also largely used in northern European countries from the earliest times, yet it

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never gained a prominent place in the American colonies. Wheat bread was a notable rarity in the homes of our colonial forbears. This fact is more easily understood by the following comment from Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, relative to the food-supply of England:

"Barley bread was the usual food of the poor classes in 1626, and white bread but little used by them in 1689. Even as late as 1725, when an improved agriculture had made wheat bread common in the southern counties, in Cumberland it is said, none but a rich family used a peck of wheat a year, and that at Christmas . . . Holland at that time supplied London with vegetables, and a century later, a large part of England was an unproductive waste. In the early reign of Henry VIII., it has been said, not a cabbage, carrot, turnip or other edible root grew in England."

Threshing-Floors

The picture of colonial cereal production would be too bare were no reference made to the flail and the threshing-floor. Bishop says: "The practice of treading out grain by horses, and sometimes by oxen, after the manner of the ancients, was generally practised on the peninsula of the Chesapeake bay as late as 1790." Horses were preferred. The advantage over the flail (used in the northern colonies) was rapidity. The threshing-floors were sometimes shifted from field to field, but a permanent floor of good waxy earth, made smooth, hard, and glossy by use, was preferred. These floors were usually from sixty to one hundred feet in diameter, with a sheaf track from twelve to fourteen feet wide, on which the bundles were spread. The horses were led around over the bundles at a sober

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trot and preferably in four ranks to a floor, requiring from twelve to sixteen horses.

Potatoes

By some writers, Sir Walter Raleigh is credited with having carried potatoes from Virginia to Ireland nearly a quarter of a century before the Jamestown settlement, and yet Asa Gray, botanist, is quoted as writing concerning the potato: "It was little regarded in Virginia, and seems to have been unknown in New England until the eighteenth century, when it was carried thither from Ireland." It is evident, then, that we are to think of these northern colonists as having no potatoes at all, year in and year out, generation after generation.

Fruit

Some fruit trees and plants were brought from Europe and introduced into the colonies. By the middle of the century a few of the farmers and planters had apple orchards, and in the Southern Colonies pears were cultivated. Otherwise, the provision of domestic fruit was generally scant. However, we can rightly think of colonial boys and girls, from the first, as gathering in their season the wild berries, grapes, plums, and cherries, and in the autumn days, according to locality, the various wild nuts, which were found from one border of the settlements to the other, wherever natural forests grew.

Of animal food, the first supply was almost identical with that of the native Indians, trapped or shot in field or forest, or caught from river, lake, or sea. Early in the New-World life, however, the colonists brought domestic animals from Europe and bred oxen for the plow, and sheep for wool.

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The earliest supplies of cattle and sheep in Virginia were eaten by starving colonists or carried off by Indians. When the colony was four years old a new supply was imported and thrived well. Their progeny were "much bigger of body than the breed of which they came, the horses also more beautiful and full of courage." In the warm Southern Colonies, the cattle and sheep required but little care, and, left largely to themselves, became in time half wild, and in some instances increased rapidly. In cold New England, with its packs of wolves, the problem was much more serious. The first sheep imported were kept on an island in Boston harbor, to protect them from wolves and Indians. For many years, wolf bounties were paid, and in some cases, the head of the wolf was to be nailed to the meeting-house before the bounty could be claimed.

Cattle

One mode of capture (guns and powder were scarce and bullets were legal tender) was to bind together four large fish-hooks, wrap them loosely with cotton, and smear the ball with tallow. This the wolf would swallow greedily, and when the line or wire was strong enough, the bounty was quickly claimed. Nearly all colonies paid bounties for killing wild animals, especially destructive of flocks and herds.

Cattle as well as sheep were also carefully housed and fed in New England. They were at first very few in numbers; yet when Plymouth was but twelve to fifteen years old, Governor Hutchinson writes: "No man now thought he could live except he had cattle . . . and ground to keep them." Some

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of the colonists took their cattle across the hills into Connecticut, and began new settlements. Captain Mason imported an improved breed from Denmark, and reared them near Portsmouth (New Hampshire). The demand being strong, cattle were high-priced. Eighty dollars for a milch cow meant at least as much as five or eight hundred dollars now. The Civil War in England stopped immigration to the colonies, and thereby cut off the inflow of money, which greatly increased in purchasing power. Prices dropped rapidly except for the very choicest breeds, so that the eighty-dollar cow brought but forty dollars, and sometimes but twenty. This fall in money-values brought beef somewhat into use as a food and furnished skins for leather. Yet all the time milch cows were few, and milk and butter were luxuries. The time of dairy breeding had not come.

Drink

Tea and coffee were practically unknown, while cider, beer, and wine were not uncommon in some of the colonies. The Court records of all the colonies show that the attempted regulation of the traffic in strong drink occupied much attention, and private letters refer often to the use of such beverages, For example, one describing "New Albion" (parts of Maryland and Virginia): "pumpkin drink, hopped, is good beer; and ale we have for you, and Malt for you, and in summer, rock cold water with an eighth of good Peach Vinegar, is the best beaverage." One of their old rollicking songs runs:

> For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips,
> Of pumpkins, and parsnips, and walnut tree chips.

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One account speaks of an "extraordinary and pleasing strong drink" made from the sweet potato of the West Indies. Another mentions one planter in Virginia as making over one hundred barrels of perry (pear-cider) per year. Another claims for cider made in Newark, New Jersey, an equality with the famous New England cider. Metheglin (made from honey) was, like the home-brewed beer, a common stimulant in some localities. However, with all these drinks, many regions used water (and sometimes milk) as the only common drink.

The principal crops and home-grown table foods at the close of the first century of colonial life were:

Summary

First; two pre-eminently important crops..Corn and Tobacco.
Next; but of relatively small importance..Rye and Buckwheat.
Third; but of growing importance.....Wheat and Oats.

Upon the table for common foods were:

Corn bread, corn mush, hulled corn, samp, and hominy,
and, in the Southern Colonies, corn pone.
"Rye and Indian" and sometimes pumpkin pie.
Throughout the long cold winter, buckwheat cakes.
In summer time, wild berries, grapes, and plums.
In winter evenings, forest nuts and hot popped corn.
Sometimes wild venison or turkey, bear or coon,
and sometimes trout or bass.
The South, a good supply of beef and pork. The North had less.

Of table drinks: pure water, sometimes milk,
sometimes a tea of fragrant sassafras or herbs.

For stimulants and muddling drinks:
A whole long list both old and new; more than enough.

Such was the agricultural progress of the first one hundred years, and this is the picture of the fields, the barns, the larders, and the cellars at its close. By the end of the seventeenth century, the extreme pinch

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of the earliest struggle was passed. Most farmers were able to raise enough food to keep hunger from the door and to spare a part for barter. A few were well-to-do, as well-to-do meant then. In the tobacco regions what was then called wealth began to be realized by the larger planters.

Historical Perspective—Agriculture, 1607–1697

[Note.—Dates in parentheses refer to other entries on the same subject.]

1609, Va.—Sheep introduced (1611)—King James I. attempted silk-growing for Va. (1619).

1611, Va.—Gates imported cows and hogs (1609, 1624)—Crop production in common abandoned. Three acres assigned to each colonist (1615).

1612, Va.—Systematic tobacco growing begun (1619).

1615, Va.—Land ownership increased to 50 acres (1611, 1623).

1619, Va.—King James's second silk venture succeeds (1609, 1658)—Va. exports 20,000 lb. tobacco to England (1612, 1640).

1621, Va.—Bees introduced (1670)—Experimental cotton planting in Va.

1623, Mass.—Communism largely abandoned. Yearly allotment of land to each colonist (1611, 1624).

1624, Mass.—First cattle in Plymouth, 3 heifers and a bull (1609, 1625)——Mass.—Land allotment perpetual (1611, 1642).

1625, N. Y.—103 head of horses, cows, hogs, and sheep imported for breeding (1609, 1632).

1631, Mass.—Court presented with a sample of rye. Heretofore no grain but corn had been cultivated.

1632, N. H.—Capt. Mason imported improved cattle from Denmark (1609, 1633).

1633, Mass.—Sheep introduced (1609, 1642).

1637, Mass.—Only 37 plows in the colony.

1640, Conn.—Use of tobacco restricted to that grown in Conn. (1612, 1662).

1642, N. Y.—First land allotment made (1611, 1658)——Conn.—No calves to be killed save by permit (1609, 1648).

1648, Mass.—Wolf bounties increased: Colonists, 30*s.*; Indians, 20*s.* (1677)—sheep fed on the commons (1609, 1656).

1649, Va. Many acres of wheat raised.

1656, Va.—Beef, pork, and bacon exported to W. Indies, profitably (1609, 1694).

1658, Va.—5 yr. possession of land to give title (1611, 1664)—Bounty for silk, hops, flax, wheat, and wine.

1662, N. Y. and Md.—Accused of selling Va. tobacco secretly——Va.—Tax of 30 lb. of tobacco per head for public buildings (1612, 1689).

1664, N. J.—Land allotted for quit-rent of ½ penny per acre, payable 1670 (1611, 1670).

1664, New Eng.—A serious wheat blight.

1670, N. J.—Refusal to pay land quit-rent (1611, 1678).—Mass.—Bees introduced (1621).

1677, Del.—Wolf bounties, 3125 guilders = $1250 (1648).

1678, Mass.—Each family to pay Indians one peck of corn per year quit-rent for land (1611, 1687).

1687, N. J.—People defied the Governor and refused to pay land quit-rent (1611).

1689, Pa.—17 cargoes of tobacco exported (1612, 1692).

1692, Va. and Md.—Tax of 1 penny a lb. on tobacco to aid the Coll. of Wm. and Mary (1612).

1694, S. C.—Rice planted —— N. Y.—4000 beeves killed, only ⅛ as many in 1678 (1609, 1694–95).

1694–5, Md.—25,000 cattle and 62,000 hogs die by plague (1609).

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CHAPTER II

COLONIAL MANUFACTURE

1607–1697

IT has been rightly said:

"The world might well afford to lose all record of a hundred ancient battles or sieges, if it could thereby gain the knowledge of one lost art; and even the pyramids . . . would well be exchanged for a few of her [Egypt's] humble workshops and manufactures, as they stood in the days of the Pharaohs. Of the true history of mankind, only a few chapters have been written; and now when the deficiencies of that we have, are beginning to be realized, we find the materials for supplying them have, in good part, perished in the lapse of time, or have been trampled recklessly beneath the hoofs of the war-horse." **True History**

War was the spectacle of ancient history. In later history, war and politics demanded the chief attention. To-day, civilization claims the highest place. Its corner-stone is toil. The civilization of the United States is built upon three centuries of toil. The beginnings of the great industries of this twentieth century were made in our colonial homes and villages.

Where, three hundred years ago, were planted the germs of American liberty and independence, were also planted the germs of American industry. Side

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by side they grew, each strengthening each. The right to eat the fruits of toil was the foundation thought of all the various throng that came from European lands to build a new and juster nation in a new discovered world. So now must history write out the start and growth of this new force, that takes the place of bloody war in measuring national strength.

Yet from the start, colonial manufacture was heavily handicapped It was no part of the policy of any European country to permit colonies to produce any articles for their own use, which, by any means, the parent country could produce and sell to the colonists.

European Policy

Lord Sheffield declared that "the only use and advantage of American colonies or of the West India Islands is the monopoly of their consumption, and the carriage of their produce." McCulloch, in his *Commercial Dictionary*, states that it was "a leading principle in the system of colonial policy, adopted as well by England as by other European nations, to discourage all attempts to manufacture such articles in the colonies as could be provided for them by the mother country." Dr. Elder, in his *Questions of the Day*, says: "The colonies were held under restraint so absolute that, beyond the common domestic industries, and the most common mechanical employments, no kind of manufacture was permitted."

The colonists were poor in means and poor in opportunity. There was no place less than three thousand miles away where cloth was made. That was a long distance, when there were only sailing vessels to carry to and fro across the intervening seas. There was no place where even garden tools

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were made. At first there were no sheep from which to shear the wool for stocking yarn. There were as yet no iron mines from which to dig the iron to cast a dinner pot or to forge a bolt or hinge or nail.

The stamp of civilized life was still too strong upon the colonists to let them fully adopt the moccasin and Indian garb of the native Americans. To cultivate the soil and lay by store for winter need; to fashion garments to replace those they were wearing out and those the children were fast outgrowing; to build them houses having doors and windows (even though they had only oiled paper for their window-panes),—to do these things came in good time to be their strong ambition, to supply their piteous need. And yet the tools, even the materials, were in many cases weeks and months away, and when at last they came, they cost so high a price in barter for their scanty home-grown crops, or crude home products, that to buy them was almost impossible.

Colonial Need

The iron that the village blacksmith used was brought from far-off Spain or other European mart. The leather that the itinerant cobbler used to mend or make their shoes was tanned in far-off France or Germany. The meagre yards of woolen cloth they had to patch their well-worn smocks, or at the last to make "a bran new coat" was sheared, spun, and woven in Europe, and cost them many a sharp economy to buy.

It is small wonder, then, that they pinched to house and to feed a little flock of sheep, to spin their own wool yarn, and to weave their own good wool or linsey-woolsey cloth, so that

Willingness

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the labor of their hands could make the garments for their needful wear. Nor is it strange that when some "minerall man" found iron in the bog or pond, they gave their earnest toil to bring that iron forth and to make the product of their native bog yield tools to till their virgin fields.

Inside the cabin and outside was the same poverty. Facing each and every common need was always a common lack. One crude or clumsy article was used to serve a dozen purposes, and many of those purposes very foreign to the first intent. Each nail, each bolt, each needle, was saved and watched with a jealous care that few to-day can understand.

There is a quaint interest attaching to the starting-points of our great manufactures, which makes it worth while to transcribe some of the earliest accounts of the London Company at Jamestown. Stith, in his *History of Virginia*, states that when the colony was but a year old, the president, after providing for various other employments, took thirty men about five miles down the river from Jamestown

> "to learn to cut down trees, make clapboards, and lie in the woods. . . . Among these were two fine and proper gentlemen of the last supply. These were at first strange diversions for men of pleasure. Yet . . . within a week they became masters. But the axes often blistering their fingers, they would . . . drown the echoes with a round volley of oaths, to remedy which sin, the president ordered every man's oath to be recorded, and at night for every oath, to have a can of water poured down his sleeve . . . in a short time an oath was not heard in a week."

Bishop, in his *History of American Manufactures*, in what appears to be an extract from Captain

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Smith's accounting to the London Company, states that in the second year the colonists had produced 40 or 50 barrels of "tar, pitch, and soap ashes; . . . provided seines for fishing, built a block-house to receive the trade of the Indians . . . and for their exercise at leisure times they made clapboards and wainscot." The clapboards and wainscot were likely split and smoothed with axes, for the need of a mill to saw boards is noted forty years later in the *Perfect Description of Virginia* (London, 1649). The following selections, touching manufacture, are gleaned from that work, which states:

> That they had six public brew houses, but most brew their own beer, strong and good; that iron ore was abundant and had been tried and proved good; and that an iron work erected would be as much as a silver mine; that they had four windmills and five water mills to grind corn beside many horse mills; that a saw mill was much wanted to saw boards, inasmuch as one mill driven by water will do as much as twenty sawyers; that they make tar and pitch, for which there was abundant material; that all kinds of tradesmen live well there, and gained much by their labors and arts as turners, potters, coopers, to make all kinds of earthen and wooden vessels; sawyers, carpenters, tile makers, boatwrights, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, fishermen, and the like.

Money Supply

In the twenty years from the landing of the Pilgrims to the time of the Civil War in England, some twenty thousand Englishmen had come to New England. The ships in which they sailed brought supplies, even including food, except of corn and fish. The newcomers brought with them considerable amounts of money, which they spent freely in building and

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furnishing their new homes. This money constantly fed the current fund needed by the colonists to buy the clothing and other supplies coming from England. Yet by this process, the money quickly returned across the ocean.

Financially, therefore, the New Englanders were no better off than the southern colonists who spent their tobacco money in the same way, constantly sending it to England in payment for supplies. Neither those of the North nor those of the South were building up home industries to supply home demands and to give home employment, home trade, and to retain at home productive resources.

Thrift

During the English Civil War, the tide of immigration to New England, which had been falling off for several years, suddenly stopped. As a consequence, the inflow of money stopped also, and poverty stared the colonists sharply, squarely, and uncompromisingly in the face. Governor Winthrop speaks of "the general fear of want of foreign commodities, now our money was gone," as being the spur which moved the colonies to turn to reliance upon themselves.

Beverley arraigns the Virginians as follows:

"They have their clothing of all sorts from England as linen, woolen and silk, hats and leather. Yet flax and hemp grow nowhere in the world better than there. Their sheep yield good increase and bear good fleeces; but they shear them only to cool them. . . . The very furs that their hats are made of perhaps go first from thence; and most of their hides lie and rot. . . . Nay they are such abominable ill husbands, that though their country be overrun with wood, yet they have all their wooden ware from England; their

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cabinets, chairs, tables, stools, chests, boxes, cartwheels, and all other things, even so much as their bowls and birchen brooms, to the eternal reproach of their laziness."

With equal force does this arraignment apply to New England, as to all the years before the panic.

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CHAPTER III

IRON AND STEEL

1607–1697

THAT branch of manufacture which to-day means more than any other single one, which directly or indirectly has more to do with the ordinary life than any other, has its initial in the iron mine, and takes on endless forms, and serves us in an infinite variety of uses.

Early Record

However early mankind learned to fuse the rocks, and mold the product into tools, we of to-day may never know. Tubal Cain (Gen. iv., 22) was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." In that dim dawn of human history, metal working was already so far advanced that one man at least had become a teacher in the art. When the Egyptian obelisk, now standing in Central Park, New York, was removed from Egypt, a small piece of very pure iron was found under it, and the records of all the centuries bear witness of the knowledge and use of iron.

Authentic European iron history goes back nearly eight hundred years before Christ, while Grecian poems and traditions date it much farther back. The thrusting of Ulysses's firebrand into the eye of

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Polyphemus is likened to the plunging of "the loud hissing axe into cold water to temper it, for hence is the strength of iron."

In England, relics point to iron manufacture early in the Christian Era. While advance in the art was manifestly very slow, the latter part of the fifteenth century (1483) found the industry so far advanced that an act was passed prohibiting the importation of many "articles of iron and steel which competed with like articles in domestic (English) production."

Europeans were therefore interested in a report of the historian of Raleigh's expedition, a hundred years later, that in North Carolina

> "in two places of the countrey specially . . . wee found neere the water side the ground to be rockie, which, by triall of a minerall man, was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey else. I know nothing to the contrarie but that it maie be allowed for a good merchantable comoditie, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood; the want of wood and deareness thereof in England; and the necessity of ballasting of shippes."

First Attempt

A quarter of a century later, the London Company's ship returned to England from Jamestown, with much iron ore on board. This ore was smelted, and "seventeen tons of metal were sold at £4 [$20] per ton to the East India Company."

Twelve years later, according to Beverley's *History of Virginia*, an attempt was made to "set up three iron works" on Falling Creek, Va., "where they made proof of good iron oar"; but successive disasters, culminated by the massacre of the whites

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three years after, wrecked this first and very promising attempt to make iron in the New World. Since this wrecking was right in the height of the tobacco "boom," and as tobacco raising was a sure means of profit, iron manufacture in Virginia was abandoned, and more than a score of years passed before another attempt was made, and this was made in Massachusetts.

In New England

Knowledge of the existence of "iron stone" in New England is reported as early as twelve years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth; and Massachusetts records show that ten years later, specimens of iron ore from near Lynn were taken to London, England, by Robert Bridges, and "The Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works" was formed, and began operations at that place. This Company consisted of eleven Englishmen, John Winthrop, Jr., son of Governor Winthrop, and other colonists. The General Court (in 1645) declared that "ye iron worke (near Lynn, Mass., 'Hammersmith') is very successfull [both in ye richnes of ye ore and ye goodnes of ye iron] . . . and some tuns of sowe iron cast in readines for ye forge."

When this first "iron worke" was three years old, Governor Winthrop wrote from Benton to his son at Pequod, Conn., that "The furnace runs 8 tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish."

The same company that established the works at Lynn also opened works about a year later at Braintree, Mass., some ten miles south of Boston. Under privilege granted to one Joseph Jenks, there was set up at Lynn the forge for making "edge tools," in

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which were made the dies for the first silver coins struck by the mint at Boston (the "pine tree" coins). It was at this forge also that was built, for Boston, the first fire engine made in America.

Taunton, Mass., was another of the pioneers in the iron industry, and the works erected there continued nearly two hundred years. Works were erected at other points, and for a hundred years, until well toward the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Massachusetts was the chief seat of iron manufacture on this continent, depending largely on bog and pond ores.

Connecticut was only a few years behind Massachusetts in establishing iron works. In 1663, John Davenport wrote from New Haven to John Winthrop, Jr.:

"The freshest newes here, & that which is *e re vestra*, is, that they have bene blowing at the iron worke, and have runne, from the last 6th day, to this 2d day 5 sowes of iron, which are commended for very good; & this night it is thought they will run another, & begin tomorrow to cast pots."

The letter indicates, however, that drunkenness among the workmen was hazarding the enterprise.

That Rhode Island was also early engaged in the iron industry is evident by the records of the Wampanoag War, from which it appears that the Indians destroyed an iron forge at Pawtucket, together with other iron works and infant enterprises. The early records also indicate that at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, there was a short-lived iron-making establishment within the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

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To show the interest in, and value placed upon these beginnings of the iron industry by the colonial governments, we may turn to their legislative records. Massachusetts was evidently looking sharply at possible events that would make it very desirable for the colony to be able to supply all its home needs. (War without iron manufacture is war with a serious handicap.) In making an additional grant for putting up iron works, the General Court gave as one reason the possibility that the works at Lynn and Braintree might fail to supply a full demand "whereby unsufferable damage may accrew." The Connecticut Assembly exempted persons and estates from "paying rates" in case they were wholly employed in iron manufacture.

Government Aid

To set forth clearly the situation of the colonies when fully ninety years had passed since the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, a sketch map is herewith printed showing approximately the partially settled area and the location of such early iron works as are located by the more reliable colonial records. By this, it is seen that the entire home supply of iron for the colonies was grouped near the north end of a narrow strip of settlement, stretching a thousand miles along the Atlantic coast.

To present a graphic view of what has grown from this small beginning, an accompanying diagram is given showing the progress of the United States during the past century as compared with that of the mother country, from which our earliest colonial predecessors had to draw most of their scant supplies before an iron bog, an "iron stone," or the

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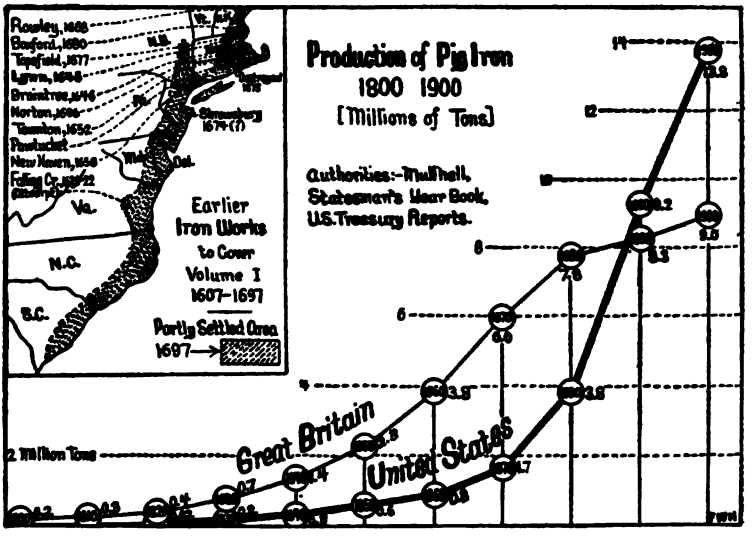
iron sand of all this broad country had yielded up an ounce of cold gray steel for cannon, blade, or plow. These two graphic pictures set concretely side by side the first and last (first and third) centuries of United States history in this important industry.

In future volumes, we shall pass step by step over



this historic path and view its steady, solid, ever-broadening range, until to-day the volume of its pig ("sowe") iron and steel, its mountain piles of rails and bars and beams, its thousands of miles of pipes and tubes and stacks, its millions of shafts and gears and tools, its giant tanks, its mighty spans, its powerful ships of war, its conquering locomotives and its peerless mills, make all the world to wonder where our iron manufacture will end and what can check its seemingly resistless march.

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Historical Perspective—Iron and Steel, 1607–1697

1608, Va.—London Company took iron ore to England.
1620–22, Va.—Attempt to establish iron works at Falling Creek (7 m. below Richmond).
1629, Mass.—Iron ore found near Lynn.
1642, Mass.—Iron ore from near Lynn taken to London, Eng., by Robert Bridges.
1643, Eng.—"Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works" formed to operate at Lynn.
1643, Mass.—3000 acres of the common land at Braintree, granted to the Lynn Co.
1644, Mass.—Genl. Court grants 54 sq. m. of land, in 6 parcels, to the Lynn Co.
1645, Mass.—A "foundery" (blast furnace) in operation near Lynn.
1645, Mass.—Additional privileges granted Lynn Co.—One condition: "the barr iron" should cost the colonists not to exceed "twentye pounds per tunn."
1646, Mass.—Iron works set up at Braintree.
1647, Mass.—Forge for "edge tools" at Lynn.
1648, Mass.—Refining forge at Lynn.
1652, Mass.—Iron works at Taunton—Dies for the "Pine Tree" coins made at Lynn.
1654, Mass.—First fire-engine made in America. Built at Lynn.
1655, Mass.—Patent for improved scythe, granted to Jos. Jenks.
1655–69, Conn.—Persons and estates engaged in making iron, exempt from taxation.
1657, Mass.—Genl. Court, fearing "damage may accrew," grants privilege of erecting additional iron works.
1658, Conn.—Iron works at New Haven.
1660, Mass.—Concord iron works permitted to mine iron ore.
1668, Mass.—Iron works at Rowley (25 m. N.E. of Lynn).
1671, Mass.—Lynn works less successful.
1675, R. I.—Iron works at Pawtucket destroyed by Indians.
1677, Mass.—Iron works at Topsfield, near Ipswich.
1680, Mass.—Iron works at Boxford.
1688, Mass.—Lynn iron works suspend operations.
1696, Mass.—Iron works at Norton (27 m. S.W. of Boston).

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CHAPTER IV

SHIP-BUILDING

1607–1697

For the first twenty years, almost everything the northern colonists used, excepting their corn and fish, was brought to them from England. This commerce had given employment to nearly two hundred English ships, at a cost for freight little short of a million dollars.

Small wonder is it then, when poverty came upon them so unrelentingly, their thoughtful men began to plan to sail the seas for their own account. Timber was already scarce in England, so that there was a hungry market for all the forest products of the New World that they could take across the sea. Their waters teemed with fish, and the Old World wanted fish. Their wilderness had much of fur, and the Old World wanted fur.

Opportunity

A few small ships had been constructed at various points, beginning with the seven fishing boats built by Captain Smith on the coast of Maine six years before the Pilgrims came; and the same year, at New Amsterdam, by Adrian Block, the *Onrust* had been built to replace an old Amsterdam vessel that had burned. When Plymouth was but four years

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old, Governor Bradford tells of a carpenter sent to them from England, who "quickly builds two very good and strong shallops with a great and strong lighter and had hewn timber for ketches, but this spoilt, for in the heat of the season, he falls into a fever and dies, to our great loss and sorrow."

As the years went on, the records noted other small craft built, including the historical *Blessing of the Bay* and the *Rebecca*, built at Governor Craddock's shipyard, Medford: and a larger one at Salem, fifty years before the time of the "Witchcraft" delusion.

Then came the panic years and, although poverty bore sharp, at almost every seaport town in each of the New England colonies, the people in their poverty found means to build larger craft than they had sailed before, to take them oversea to foreign ports. One of the first, perhaps the first, to visit Europe was *The Trial* (160 tons), under Thos. Graves as master. Laden with fish, it sailed to Bilboa, Spain, and exchanged its cargo for fruit, oil, iron, and wool, "which was a great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade."

Oversea

Masts, lumber, staves, shingles, and other products of the forests were cut along the streams, and floated down to shipping points, and carried out to England, Spain, the Canaries, the West Indies, and to the southern colonies. These were exchanged for salt and wine and tropical productions, for European manufactures, and for provisions from the southern colonies. The vessels themselves were not infrequently sold at foreign ports.

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That this industry was particularly beneficial appears from the comment of one Captain Johnson: "Our maritime towns began to increase roundly, especially Boston . . . the which of a poor country village, in twice seven years, it is become like unto a small city."

Nor was ship-building confined wholly to mercantile craft. As the sea success of the colonists increased, competition threatened; and in those years competition meant guns, powder, and shot. The Dutch, with their Amsterdam craft, were not loth to compel the New England ships to do their bidding, so the United Colonies of New Haven and Hartford fitted out a cruiser of ten guns and forty men for serious war service on Long Island sound. Massachusetts fitted the ship *Anthony* for the same sort of service. New Hampshire built the *Faukland*, 54 guns, and a galley of thirty-two guns for the protection of its sailormen.

Warships

Very early in this new development the New Englanders appointed surveyors to see that all ships were rightly built. To give the builders all needful advantage in operation, they granted the privilege of incorporation, and in some cases certain tax exemptions were enacted in favor of ship-builders.

Though the "Navigation Acts" of the English Parliament were aimed to check this growing colonial sea commerce, they were not at first rigidly enforced in New England, and therefore did not much disturb the growth of ship-building. When this industry was about three years old, counting from the beginning of the panic, the shipping of Massachusetts is set down in *New England First Fruits* (London,

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1643): "Besides boats, shallops, hoyes, lighters, pinnaces, we are in a way of building ships of 100, 200, 300, 400 tons: five of them already at sea, many more in hand at this present." To be in "a way of building" 400-ton ships sounds well, and certainly meant much at that date. However, few so large ships (small as they seem now in the opening of the twentieth century) were then needed, and few were built; but of such as were adapted to the conditions of that date the colonies went steadily forward in building, and a definite report of Massachusetts shipping, twenty years later, made to the Commissioners of King Charles, enumerates eighty ships of 20 to 40 tons, forty ships of 40 to 100 tons, and about a dozen above a hundred tons,—over 130 sail. Eleven years later still, the report numbers two hundred of 30 to 50 tons; two hundred of 50 to 100 tons; thirty of 100 to 250 tons; and, including smaller ships (6 to 10 tons), 730 sail.

Master Builders

Not only were the New England colonies sending vessels to all profitable ports, not only were their ships numerous enough and large enough to meet all the requirements of their people; their sailormen had become famous because of their enterprise and success, and her ship-builders stood in high rank among the ship-builders of the world. And, judging by the success of their successors in recent years in defending the *America Cup*, it is certainly fair to conclude that the cunning of those early craftsmen has been brought down the line without deterioration.

There is also good evidence that their energy and snap were not over-capitalized in writing up their

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fame. For example, the following, written about the close of the seventeenth century by the elder Col. Pepperill to Capt. John Hill, commanding the fort at Saco, regarding a sloop the colonel had in building at that point:

"Sir—With much trouble I have gotten men and sent for the Sloop and desire you to despatch them with all speed; for if all things be ready, they may be fitted to leave in two days as well as seven years. . . . I think it may be safe and better to bend her sails before you launch her so as to leave immediately. But I . . . desire you to hasten them day and night; for Sir it will be dangerous tarrying there, on account of hostile savages in the vicinity; and it will be very expensive to keep the men upon pay. I send you a barrel of rum, and there is a cask of wine to launch with."

Though the policy of the Hollanders was opposed to ship-building for New Amsterdam, yet the *Onrust* already mentioned was early in their records, and several small sloops and pirogues were built and employed locally for Indian trade. A complaint sent to The Hague against the West India Company mentions the building of the *New Netherlands* (said to be 800 tons) as an extravagance. More interesting, however, is a partial list of the high-sounding names the Dutchmen gave their ships: *The Angel Gabriel*, *King David*, *Queen Esther*, *King Solomon*, *Arms of Rensellaerwyck*, *Arms of Stuyvesant*, *The Great Christopher*, *The Crowned Sea Bears*, *The Spotted Cow*, etc.

Late in the century, one John Marsh petitioned Governor Fletcher for aid "about making A small wessell that shall saile faster than all others by aboundance, that this exsolent art that I have found out will be mightily for the

Invention

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Honor and profite of the King and Kingdome of England, and Likewise it will be a meaines to Advance New York." At this time the shipping of New York is recorded as forty square-rigged vessels, sixty-two sloops, and sixty boats. This is not nearly equal to that of Massachusetts, considering the circumstances of the two colonies, and yet it probably supplied the need of its own people well.

In his account of Pennsylvania and West Jersey at the close of the seventeenth century, Thomas says that "several fine ships and vessels (beside Governor Coxe's own great ship) have been built at Burlington," and the records of commerce show that at this date New Jersey was bidding strongly against New York for the ocean carrying trade. The other colonies are represented in the ship-building records of the seventeenth century to a limited extent only.

Bishop says that New England did most of the carrying for Virginia; and while the records show that the colonial government offered bounties for ship-building, and while a few small craft were built in Virginia before the tobacco craze reached its full, yet Governor Berkeley, in his account to the Lords Comissioners on Colonies, says: "For shipping, we have admirable masts, and very good oaks, but, of our own we never yet had more than two at a time, and these not more than 20-ton burden." He blamed the Navigation Act as prohibiting commerce. "Mighty and destructive have been the obstructions to our trade and navigation by that severe act of Parliament. By this . . . it is not lawful for us to carry a stave or a bushel of corn, to any place in Europe, out of the King's dominions."

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How much more rigorously the Navigation Acts may have been enforced in Virginia than in New England it is perhaps difficult to learn; yet it is equally difficult to escape the opinion that with New England conditions and New England people in Virginia, the ships would have been built, and Virginia would have done her own oversea carrying.

The preceding records outline a little more than the first half-century of the struggles and triumphs of a merchant marine that one hundred thirty years later caused alarm to the mother country because our "starred flag" was "conspicuous on every sea," and which now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, is, alas! just as conspicuous by its absence from every sea.

Historical Perspective—Ship-Building, 1607–1697

1614, Me.—Capt. Smith and his men build 7 fishing boats.——N. Y.—*Onrust* built.
1622, New Eng.—35 English ships fishing off the coast.
1624, Mass.—Two shallops and a lighter built.
1627, Mass.—Plymouth people build a pinnace for fishing.
1630, N. Y.—Alleged building of the *New Netherland* by the W. I. Co..
1631, Mass.—*Blessing of the Bay* launched, July 4.
1633, Mass.—The *Rebecca* (60 t.) built at Medford—Gov. Craddock's shipyard.
1636, Mass.—Ship of 120 t. built at Marblehead by the people of Salem.
1640, New Eng.—Financial Crisis, turning colonists to ship-building.
1641, Mass.—Bark of 50 t. built by subscription at Manomet (near Cape Cod), cost £200—Court ordered surveyors to see that ships were rightly built.
1642, Mass.—6 ships built for foreign trade—*The Trial* (160 t.) sails for Bilboa.
1642, Del.—Campanius reports he found ship-building at Cooper Island.
1644, Mass.—Two ships built (210 and 250 t.)—Ship-building Co. incorporated.
1646, Mass.—Ship of 300 t. built.——R. I.—Ship of 150 t. built.—(Soon after), United Col. build a cruiser of 10 guns.
1647, Mass.—Capt. Johnson likens Boston to "a small city" because of growth through shipping.
1649, N. Y.—Complaint against the W. I. Co. for building *New Netherland* (1630).
1660–4, Conn.—New London builds several barques of from 12 to 20 t.
1661, Conn.—*The New London Tryall* built (cost, exclusive of iron parts, £200).
1662, Md.—Tonnage dues of ½ lb. powder and 3 lb. shot on ships entering port.
1665, Mass.—Shipping: 80 ships of 20 to 40 t; 40 of 40 to 100 t.; and about 12 above 100 t.
1666, Conn.—Genl. Court exempts from tax all ships upon the stocks.
1667, Mass.—Genl. Court orders laws to prevent bad ship-building—Offers dry-dock monopoly of 15 yr.—Lays gunpowder tonnage tax on ships, not of Mass.

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1668, Mass.—Govt. reserves white pines of 2 ft. diam., 3 ft. up—Dry-dock offer made 21 yr.
1670, Mass.—Ship built at Scituate.
1673, Mass.—Ship *Anthony* ordered fitted out against pirates of New Netherlands.
1676, Mass.—Shipping (Boston and vicinity): 300 of 6 to 10 t.; 200 of 30 to 50 t.; 200 of 50 to 100 t.; 30 of 100 to 250 t.; Of master shipwrights, 30.
1677, Mass.—Indians captured about 15 ketches belonging to Salem.
1679, N. Y.—La Salle builds the *Griffin* (60 t.) above Niagara Falls.
1680, Conn.—Shipping: 4 ships, 3 pinks, 8 sloops and others—total, 1050 t.
1681, Mass.—Bark *Adventure* (40 t.) owned by Scituate and Marshfield people engages in W. I. trade.
1683, Pa.—Wm. Penn writes: "Some vessels have been built here and many boats."
1690, N. H.—*The Foukland*, 54 guns, built at Portsmouth.
1696, N. Y.—Shipping: 40 square-rigged vessels, 62 sloops, 60 boats.——N. H.—*The Bedford* galley, 32 guns, built.

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CHAPTER V

TEXTILES

1607–1697

WEAVING is at this time a giant industry in the United States, housed in many hundred great mills, and demanding the entire employment of more than three hundred thousand workers. The yearly value of our textile fabrics in this opening of the twentieth century, is rapidly nearing the billion-dollar mark, coming close to that of our iron and steel product. Yet down to the middle of the eighteenth century, it was almost wholly a household industry in both England and our own country. Previous to the New England Panic (twenty years after the Plymouth landing), cloth was almost universally imported from Europe, except, perhaps, among the early Dutch of New Netherlands, to whom the native Indians gave the name of "cloth makers."

A Yearly Billion

Beverley's condemnation, quoted in the preceding chapter, applied with equal force to the New Englanders during the first twenty years of colonial life.

Long ago, Fitzhubert said, "Sheep is the most profitablest cattle that a man can raise"; and yet

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the abundance of sheep in Virginia, where it was so easy to raise them, availed no more than the scarcity of them in New England, where the severe winters made it hard to grow them. True, some of the Pilgrims were cloth makers by trade, but the bare wilderness did not furnish ready-made fibre, even though it grew wild hemp. Because Frenchmen on the high seas captured the supplies sent out to supplement those brought in the "Pilgrim Barks," and at the same time the colonial storehouse burned, the supply of clothing fell short indeed, and a rhymester of that serious time made record:

"And now too our garments begin to grow thin,
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin:
If we can get garments to cover without,
Our other in-garments are clout upon clout.
Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn—
They need to be clouted soon after they are worn—
But clouting our garments, they hinder us nothing;
Clouts double, are warmer than single whole clothing."

As in the case of ship-building, so, too, in the matter of cloth production; the New England Colonies set resolutely about the needful home industry. Edward Everett Hale, in an address in New York, justly said, "The first measures of the patriots aimed to establish their independence on the basis of the productive industries and laborious arts of the country"; and those panic experiments constituted the first real measures in shaping the foundations of independence.

In the Massachusetts records is the following:

"The Court taking into serious consideration . . . doth

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require the magistrates . . . to make inquiry what seed [flax] is in every town, what men and women are skillful in the breaking, spinning, weaving; what means for the providing of wheels . . . what course may be taken for teaching the boys and girls in all towns, the spinning of the yarn, and to return to the next court, their several and joint advice about this thing.—The like considerations would be had about the spinning and weaving of cotton."

Court Records

Again the Court directed that wild hemp ("growing all over the country") be gathered and used. The Indians taught the colonists how to obtain the fibre of this plant, in form for coarse spinning and weaving. The attention of masters of families was also directed to

"see that their children and servants should bee industriously implied, so as the mornings and evenings and other seasons may not be lost . . . so as all hands may be implied for the working of hemp and fflaxe and other needful things for clothing."

Another Court order makes reference to the superiority of wool clothing for winter, and its safety in fire hazard: "families with cotton cloth . . . have had some of their children much scorched by fire, yea, divers burnt to death." Referring to the prospect of reduced supplies, as a result of European wars, "how profitable a merchandise it is like to be to transport to other parts." Then an earnest appeal to "every one in particular within this jurisdiction" seriously to consider the preservation and increase of sheep, and to report who in each town "will buy ewe sheep at the rate of forty shillings

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apiece, under three years ould"; and to write to any friends coming from England "to bring as many sheepe as convenient"; all of which "being carefully endeavoured, we leave the successe to God."

More than these; the government ordained a general bounty of 25 % on cloth production "for the incuragement of the manifocture." This bounty was restricted to such cloth as was produced from materials raised in the colony, "or else of cotton." (This bounty was later repealed because of the too large draft on the treasury.)

Connecticut stood shoulder to shoulder with Massachusetts in this important movement, as shown by a Court record which ordained that hemp and flax be sowed by each family and seed be saved "that we might in time have supply of Linen Cloath amongst ourselves." The Court also refers to Governor Hopkins's undertaking "the furnishing and setting forth a vessel with convenient speed to those parts where the said comodity [cotton] is to be had if it be pheasable." The cotton so obtained was, upon the return of the vessel, divided under provision of the Court: Windsor receiving ninety pounds' worth, Weathersfield one hundred and ten, and Hartford two hundred.

The colonists were heartily in sympathy with the various Court orders and suggestions, and they began vigorously to breed sheep and raise flax. Their enterprising seamen brought cotton from the West Indies. In many households were soon heard the hum of the spinning-wheels and the clatter of looms as the loyal wives and daughters earnestly took up their willing portion

Co-operation

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of the common burden fallen so suddenly and seriously upon them.

Early in the struggle, the *New England First Fruits*, referring to the increasing production of linen thread and of cotton and linen cloth, adds: "and having a matter of one thousand sheep, which prosper well to begin withal, in a competent time we hope to have woolen cloth there made; so that God is leading us by the hand into a way of clothing."

The English Parliament seems also to have had an eye to encouraging at least the raw-material side of this industrial awakening, as, soon after the panic came, it exempted from duties all merchandise intended for colonial use, and all colonial produce sent to England. This was intended to attract the colonial raw materials to England by making English manufactures free of duty.

However, the colonists did not see fit to stop at raw materials, or even at woven cloth, which the record of the withdrawal of bounties indicates to have been considerable, or the treasury could have stood the drain. Fulling-mills were built, probably the first in the United States being those erected at Rowley, Massachusetts. So, even in the midst of their concern about sufficient clothing, they sought to make their woven yards more durable and presentable by the processes of shrinking and compacting the web in a fulling-mill.

That this colonial effort was of settled purpose is evidenced by the following extract from a Massachusetts record, sixteen years after the panic fell: "for the improving of as many hands as may be in spinninge . . . all hands

Persistence

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not necessarily employed on other occasions, as women girls and boys . . . are enjoined to spin according to their skill." The selectmen were to assess "for a whole spinner . . . 30 weeks every yeare, 3 pound per week . . . and so proportionally for half or quarter spinners," under the penalty of 12d. for every pound short.

That the records of the southern colonies are scant in this branch of industry, is perhaps not wholly due to tobacco production. Beauchamp Plantagenet, writing of New Albion, recommends a semi-aboriginal dress as all that was desirable. If many, in that milder climate, shared his view, there was little to stimulate cloth-making there. However, the erection of fulling-mills in Virginia, the last part of the century, indicates considerable weaving at that date.

It was written of Pennsylvania, near the close of the century: "Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax, and many of them in weaving, so that we have good reason to thank the Almighty for our daily support." An English writer speaks of New Jersey at the same period as producing "very good serges, druggets, crapes, camblets, and good plushes with several other woolen clothes, beside linen." Of New York, Denton testifies: "Every one make their own linen, and a great part of their woolen cloth, for their own weaving." While silkworms were grown and some silk spun, yet there was no product to make record of until in the eighteenth century.

At the close of the first century of colonial life, we may therefore picture the colonies (except the tobacco colonies) as already fairly independent of

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Europe, so far as the supply of really necessary clothing was concerned. Many homes had busy spinning-wheels, a smaller number looms, and here and there already was a fulling-mill. Each group of colonial homes was a busy hive of busy lives. Those homes having no wheels took their flax or wool to those who had, to be spun on shares. Those having no looms took their product of thread to those who had the looms, to be woven on shares, or for barter in other things. The surplus cloth, over and above the family need, was marketed as farmers' market eggs and butter, or it was gathered up by agents from the fulling-mills. They were therefore already "led by the hand into a way of clothing."

Historical Perspective—Textiles, 1607–1697

1620–23, Mass.—Intended supplies of clothing captured by the French.
1627, Mass.—Gov. of Manhattan arranges trade relations, aiding cloth supply.
1629, Mass.—Hemp seed received from England.
1640, New England financial panic.——**Mass.**—Court orders inquiry into the ability of the colony to produce cloth—Adopts a cloth bounty.——**Conn.**—Court orders hemp and flax sowed.
1641, Mass.—Court directs wild hemp to be used, and that children and servants be employed to make cloth—Town-meeting at Salem on hemp cultivation.
1642, New Eng.—*First Fruits* records increased cloth production.
1643 (probably), Mass.—First fulling-mill in the United States at Rowley.——**Eng.**—Mdse. for Col. use, and raw materials sent to Eng., exempted from duties.
1644, Conn.—Inspectors of yarn appointed.
1645, Mass.—Court calls attention to superiority of woolen clothing.
1650, N. Y.—Experimental planting of indigo.
1656, Mass.—12 acres granted to Wm. Howe to promote weaving (conditional)—Spinning assessment ordered.
1661, Eng.—Indigo included among "enumerated articles."
1662, Va.—Laws to encourage cloth production, including silk (also hats).——**Mass.**—Fulling-mill at Watertown.
1663, Mass.—Conditional bounties promised to hatters.
1666, Va.—Laws promoting silk production repealed.
1670, N. Y.—Dutch weaving machinery introduced—"Every one make their own . . . cloth" (Denton).——**Conn.**—Males over 14 to clear land for sheep pasturing.
1681, Mass.—Fulling-mill built on the tide canal in Boston.
1684, N. J.—Letters tell of plenty of flax and wool, but a scarcity of labor.
1692 (about), Va.—Earliest fulling-mills.
1693, Conn.—A mill on the Nahantic River.
1693, Pa.—Spinning and weaving a common home industry.
1697, N. J.—Many sorts of woolen fabrics produced, "beside linen."

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CHAPTER VI

MINOR MANUFACTURES

1607–1697

MANUFACTURE is readily graduated from the household. The early settler, with a heavy pestle, pounded his shelled corn into "samp" or "hominy" by the muscular power of his good right arm, or by that of his good wife or child. The work was slow and burdensome. So when some neighbor built a mill by which the wind was made to wield a ponderous pestle a hundred times as heavy, or whirl a great mill-stone which ground the corn for "toll," the miller had quick customers. From many miles they came with back-loads (back of man or beast), with wagon loads, and even ship-loads to the mill.

Mills

So, too, the early settler split his straight-grained timber into boards or staves or shingles, and smoothed them with his axe or drawing-knife. This, too, was slow, hard work, and when some enterprising settler dammed a stream and made the water saw the knottiest logs to good, straight boards, he, too, had ready customers who hauled their logs from far or near. The story of these early mills holds many a thrilling history, commingled with the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of colonial life.

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New Amsterdam was early in the field, for Holland is the home of mills. The wind, the stream, and the willing beasts were brought to do their work. Near by where Trinity Church now stands was built the earliest mill, and over it a place for public worship, the first one in that colony. The annals of earlier New York locate many wind and water mills, where now are solid blocks of masonry, housing the down-town marts of merchandise. Each colony has many records of these stepping-stones of industrial development, as household manufacture took its way to larger opportunity. Grants of land were made, and strong monopolies to those who set up mills with pledge to serve the people reasonably. For example, at a town meeting in New London: "No person or persons shall set up any other milne to grind corne for the town . . . so long as Mr. Winthrop or his heirs do uphold the milne to grind the town corn."

The colonial governments also established standards of mill operation regulating tolls: "Indian corn $\frac{1}{13}$, other grain $\frac{1}{6}$"; and provided sealed measures and grain strikes. The soldiers of Middletown were "abated of one of the ordinary trainings that they may help him that carries on the mill there, up with his heavy work." Timber was reserved on the public lands for the aid of saw-mills, and other mills had liberal aid also. In the latter part of the century, Thos. Rudyard, Deputy-Governor of New Jersey, writes from Amboy: "There is five or six mills going up here this spring, two at work already which abates the price of boards in half."

These are some of the beginnings of our great

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lumber and grist mill industries, which to-day feed and house many millions of fortunate people.

There are a considerable number of manufactures that were never in any true sense household industries, and which gained a good footing during the first century of colonial life. Indians taught the colonists the art of dressing skins for clothing. Morton, an early historian of New England, says the North American Indians made "very good leather . . . plume and soft." The moose skins "wondrous white, and stripe them . . . round about the borders in form like lace set on by a Tayler." An early Spanish historian says the southern Indians give skins "what colour they list, so perfect that, if it be red it seemeth a very fine cloth in the graine, and the black is most fine, and of the same colours."

Leather

However, they knew nothing of the tanning of leather by astringents to give it compactness and durability.

In the record of colonial tanneries, New York City has a peculiar place. When the colony was about forty years old, and the city one year old, Broad Street was known as "Heere Graft" and Exchange Place as "Prince Graft." Between those two "grafts" and bordering on Beaver Street, was a swampy piece of low ground known as the sheep pasture. Occupying this low ground were many tanning vats, some of them the property of wealthy and prominent men. Twenty-three years later, the tan-vat business of that locality was declared to be a nuisance, and the low ground filled in.

These worthy tanners then bought a tract of low

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ground in "Shoemakers Land," between Maiden Lane and Ann Streets, east of Broadway, reaching nearly to Gold Street. As the city grew, the tanners of "Shoemakers Land" were in turn driven out, a part locating on the borders of "Fresh Water Pond" beyond the common (about the junction of Centre and Pearl Streets), and a part locating in "Beekman's Swamp," on the lots laid out by Jacobus Roosevelt, then the owner of that tract. In this "swamp," many of the tanners remained until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and one or two even later. In the years preceding the Revolution, the great piles of tan-bark that had accumulated served as the scene of many a mimic battle by the neighboring boys, who used the cattle horns of the tan-yards as weapons of warfare. Even in this beginning of the twentieth century, "The Swamp" is still identified with the great leather business of New York, having within its limit all the more important leather warehouses.

Connecticut and Massachusetts records have several references to this industry, some of which appear in the Historical Perspective. Toward the close of the century, Wm. Penn says that "their tannery" was well supplied with bark. The records of other colonies are lacking, but there is reason to believe that the industry was well established in most, if not in all, of them by the close of the seventeenth century.

Glass

In the woods, about a mile from Jamestown, Va., before the colony was two years old, was erected the first glass factory in the United States. There is scant record of its product.

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Probably only bottles were made or beads for Indian trade, and in the great Indian massacre, fourteen years later, that "glass house was burned." A few years after, a second attempt was made, but no important product is recorded. Bottles and other ordinary glass articles, except window glass, were produced in Massachusetts for a considerable period. In the early years of New York City, South William Street, between Wall and Pearl, was known as "Glass-makers" Street, and an old map marks a region north of 34th Street, between Eighth and Eleventh Avenues, as "Glass-house Farm." Evidently glass was made in New York.

Brick

Ordinarily, the change from log to frame or brick houses among early settlers covers many laborious years. It is a bit surprising, therefore, to find the Virginia colonists within five years, and the Massachusetts colony within nine years after landing, reported as brickmakers. Destructive fires were caused by faulty wooden or "catted" chimneys and thatched roofs. In the *New Life of Virginia*, writing of the removal of the colony from Jamestown, eighty miles up the river to a more healthful place, the author says:

"the spademen fell to digging, the brickmen burnt their bricks . . .. and every man to somewhat. And to answer the first objection to wholesome lodging here, they have built competent and decent houses, the first story all of bricks."

Three years after the settlement at Salem, Mass., the minister writes:

"here is good clay to make Bricke and Tyles and Earthen pots, as need to be. At this instant we are sitting a brick-kill

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on worke to make Bricks and Tyles for the building of our houses. . . . For stone, here is plentie of slates at the isle of Slates in Massathulets Bay."

New York, Pennsylvania, and Maine also record the manufacture of bricks during the seventeenth century, as noted in the Perspective at the close of this chapter.

Some of the native American Indians were salt-makers. De Soto's historians often allude to salt made from salt spring water by evaporation in earthen pans and molded into square cakes. Indians from western New York brought salt to Albany and Quebec on their fur-trading expeditions, long before white men began the manufacture.

Salt

Colonists first undertook its production chiefly to supply the many European fishing stations scattered along the coast. Such as was made was principally the product of boiled sea-water, and of poor quality. Virginia was the first producer, and New Hampshire next. Early attempts in Massachusetts failed, and all the colonies were often in sore straits. On one occasion, Governor Winthrop wrote to his son at Fisher's Island:

"Here arrived yesterday a Dutch ship of 300 T. with 250 T. of salt . . . so as salt was abated in a few hours from thirty-six to sixteen a hogshead. We look to it as a singular providence and testimony of the Lord's care of us."

There is not evidence to show that the colonies had at all reached a condition of independence in salt-supply as the seventeenth century closed.

Englishmen coming to settle in America brought

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with them the English policy of that period, which permitted no printing except by royal license. The Virginia colony was seventy-seven years old when its first printing-press was set up, and this press was suppressed by Governor Berkeley, who, the preceding year, declared he hoped there would be no printing-presses or free schools for a hundred years.

Printing

More than half a century passed after the landing of the Pilgrims before Boston was permitted to have a printing-press, although one was set up at Cambridge only eighteen years after the Pilgrim settlement, and, for thirty years following, Cambridge was the only place in the United States where printing was done. Forty-two years had passed after the first Pennsylvania settlement before printing was permitted (at Philadelphia). It was but seven years preceding the close of the seventeenth century, when New York had been settled seventy-nine years, that New York City was permitted to do any printing. Therefore it is easy to understand why the history of printing in the first colonial century is to be told in few words.

Associated with the history of printing is naturally that of paper. As, however, only one paper-mill was set in operation in the United States during the period (1607–1697) covered by this volume, and that in the closing year, the beginning of the story of paper-making will be told in the next volume.

The rosy reports of wild grapes in America set the minds of European capitalists aflame with the idea of large profits in wine-making. For example, that:

Stimulants

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"the vines grow in great abundance and variety all over the land; that some of the grapes were of that unusual bigness that they did not believe them to be grapes until by opening them they had seen their kernels; that they had planted the cuttings of their vines at Michaelmas and had grapes from those very cuttings the spring following . . . they had not heard of the like in any other country."—Report of Experts to the London Co.

Robert Evelin, writing of "New Albion," describes the varieties:

"The first is Thoulouse Muscat, sweet scented; the second, the great Foxe and thick grape, after 5 moneths reaped, being boyled and salted, and well fined, it is a strong red Xeres; the third a light claret; the fourth, a white grape, creeps on the land, maketh a pure gold-color white Wine. Terris Pale, the Frenchman, of these four made eight sorts of excellent Wine; and of Muscat, a cute-boyled, that the second draught will fox a reasonable pate four months old, and here may be gathered and made two hundred tun in the vintage moneth, and replanted will mend."

A Carolina report says: "Some of the Wine has been transported for England, which, by the best palates, was well approved of, and more is daily expected." Wm. Penn prophesied success in wine-making. Because of such reports many, attempts in wine-making were made. The resulting disappointments were in part due to the introduction of European vines unsuited to the soil and climate, instead of improving the native stock, and partly to the fact that, to be profitable, wine-making calls for large operations, as chief causes.

Some of the settlers of Pennsylvania and Delaware made beer and brandy from persimmons, and

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small beer from corn, the brewing being done by women. About the middle of the century, Virginia had six public "Brew-houses," but it was said that "most brew their own beer strong and good."

The records show, incidentally, that brewers were licensed in Massachusetts. For example: Capt. Sedgwick, "to brew beare to sell according to the size (not stronger than 8s the bbl.) before licensed during the pleasure of the Courte"; and the Virginia authorities at times forbade brewing and distilling in times of scarcity of grain and to check intemperance. Just before the close of the century, Albany, N. Y., ordered that "care shall be taken that ye County shall procure corn so much to brew three pipes of table Beer, and Benn V. Coraler and Albert Ryckman are to brew it, thinking it will amount to ye complement." That looks like a supply of extra good beer for the county officials at public expense.

Historical Perspective — Minor Manufactures, 1607–1697

[Note.—Dates in parentheses refer to other entries on the subject.]

1608–9, Va.—Glass manufacture started (1615).

1609, Va.—Attempt to introduce silk-growing (1619).

1612, Va.—Wine from native grapes sent to the London Co. (1622)—Brick manufacture (1629).

1614, Me.—Capt. Smith engages in fishing for food.

1615, Va.—Capt. Smith condemns attempt to make glass (1608, 1617).

1617, Va.—Gov. Argall finds glass manufacture abandoned (1608, 1621).

1619, Va.—Second attempt to grow silk successful (1609, vol. ii.).

1620, Va.—Salt works in operation at Cape Charles (1624).

1621, Va.—London Co. send over Capt. Norton and a "gange" of Italians to make glass (1608, 1622).

1622, Va.—Sample of wine sent the London Co. from its own vineyard (1612, 1632)—Glass house destroyed by Indians (1608, 1639).

1624, Mass.—Salt-maker of Plymouth Col. fails to make salt at Cape Ann.——N. H.—Salt works started (1620, 1625).

1625, Mass.—Salt-making at Cape Cod a failure (1620, 1633).

1626, N. Y.—Horse grist-mill near Trinity Church site (1628).

1628, Mass.—Mill in operation at Dorchester (1626, 1631).

1629, Mass.—Brick manufacture at Salem (1612, 1656).

1631–34, N. H.—Saw-mill at falls of the Navichewannock (1626, 1632).

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1632, Mass.—Wind grist-mill removed from Watertown to Boston (1626, 1633).——Mass.—Gov. I. in Boston Harbor rented to Gov. Winthrop on condition he planted a vineyard or orchard (1612, 1634).

1633, Va.—Salt exported to Mass. (1620, 1636).——Mass.—First water-mill in Plymouth Col., to "beat" corn—Grist-mill at Roxbury—First saw-mill.——N. Y.—Wind saw-mill on Manhattan I. about this date (1626, 1636).

1634, Mass.—Rental of Gov. I., Boston Harbor, 1 hhd. of wine yearly (1612, 1637).

1636, Mass.—Salt-making begun at Salem (1620, 1646)—Second wind-mill at Boston—One at Charlestown blown down in 1648 (1626, 1637).

1637, Mass.—Wind-mill at Scituate (1626, 1638)——Mass. Court licenses brewing of beer.——N. Y.—Brewery near Albany (1612, 1640).

1638, Mass.—First printing-press in the U. S. at Cambridge (1655)—Exclusive mill privilege granted at Roxbury—Court provides standard measures and weights for grist-mills (1626, 1639)—Court appoints 3 searchers and sealers of leather (1640).

1639, N. Y.—Saw-mill on Gov. I.—1639–45, many saw-mills on the Hudson R. (1626, 1643).—Mass.——Court grants 2 acres of land to each of 3 glass-men at Salem (1608, 1640)—Persons engaged in catching, curing, or transporting fish, exempted from taxation.

1640, New Eng.—Financial Panic.——Mass.—5 acres of land granted to a glass-man at Salem (1608, 1641).——N. Y.—Brandy manufactured [1636 ?] (1612, 1641).——Conn.—Court ordains that skins be preserved (1638, 1642).

1641, Mass.—£30 loaned to the glass-men at Salem (1608, 1645)—John Appleton permitted to set up a malt-house (1612, 1649).

1642, New Eng.—*First Fruits* says, as cattle and sheep are now being killed for food, their skins will provide leather.——Mass.—Court forbids tanners to curry, make shoes, or butcher.——Conn.—Laws enacted regulating the tanning industry (1638, 1646).

1643, Pa.—First grain mill, at Tinnicum (1626, 1645).

1645, Mass.—Money, land, and freedom from taxation granted if mill was built (1626, 1646)—The Concklins, glass-men at Salem, permitted to form a new company (1608).

1646, Mass.—Gov. Winthrop's letter on providential salt-supply (1620, 1647)—Patent granted to Joseph Jenks for improved water-mill (1626, 1649)—Export of raw hides forbidden (1638, 1653).

1647–8, Mass.—Court grants Mr. Winthrop monopoly of salt manufacture (1620, 1654).

1649, Va.—Four wind-mills and five water-mills in operation (1626, 1654)—Six brew-houses in operation (1612, 1653).

1651, Mass.—Unsuccessful copper works near Topefield.

1653, Va.—Brewing and distilling forbidden; grain scarce (1612, 1659).——N. Y. City—Tanneries in the "sheep pasture" (1638, 1676).

1654, N. Y.—Salt made at Onondaga ? (1620, 1656).——Conn.—Timber granted to New London saw-mill (1626, 1655).

1655, Me.—Saw-mill at Saco; destroyed by Indians, 1675 (1626, 1656).——Mass.—Second printing-press at Cambridge (1638, 1664).

1656, Pa.—Brick made at New Castle (1612, 1657).——Mass.—Mr. Winthrop's salt monopoly extended 21 yr. (1620, 1663)—Saw-mill built on "3d Herring Brook," Scituate; destroyed by Indians, 1676 (1626, 1658).

1657, Boston.—Has houses "fairly set forth with brick" (1612, 1659).

1658, Conn.—Standard measures provided for grist-mills (1626, 1662).——Va.—Bounties for production of silk, hops, wheat, and wine (1612, 1661).

1659, N. Y.—Brick made (1612, 1664). Va.—Bounty for wine production (1612, 1661),

1661, Conn.—Still and worm built for making rum from W. I. molasses, brought in exchange for colonial products (1612, 1663).

1662, Pa.—Iron work for saw-mill sent to South River.——Conn.—Standard tolls for grist-mills (1626, 1678).——R. I.—Grants a Mr. Hacklet privilege to burn lime at Providence, taking stone and wood from the commons near Scookequanoisett.

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1663, Eng.—Parliament exempts salt from the action of the Navigation laws, as to New Eng. (1620, 1683).——N. Y.—The W. I. Co. erected a brewery on "farm No. 1," in lower N. Y. City (1612, 1665).

1664, Mass.—Court prohibits any printing-press, except at Cambridge (1638, 1671).——N. Y.—Several brick and tile-yards, some of importance (1612, 1667).

1665, Boston.—Malt importers ask for removal of duty (1612, 1676).

1667, Mass.—Size of bricks designated by law (1617, 1675).

1671, Va.—Gov. Berkeley wishes no printing-press or free schools for 100 yr. (1638, 1674).

1674, Mass.—Printing permitted in Boston (1638, 1681).

1675, Me.—Brickmaking in operation (1612, 1692)—25,600 tons of cod taken in American waters.

1676, Va.—Brewing forbidden; grain scarce (1612, 1683).——N. Y.—Tanneries of the "sheep pasture," N. Y. City, removed to "Shoemakers land" (1638, 1683).

1678, N. Y.—The monopoly of making and bolting flour given to New York City [repealed, 1694].——Pa.—Court reserves 100 acres timber for mill on Carcoon Cr. (1626, 1682).

1681, Va.—Printing begun at Williamsburg.—Soon suppressed (1638–1683).

1682, Me.—24 saw-mills in operation, 6 of which were at Kittery, "Piscataqua."——N. J.—Earliest saw-mill of record, probably others earlier (1626, 1683).

1683, N. J.—Five or six saw-mills building at Amboy (1626, 1685).——Va.—Import of salt prohibited, to aid Col. Scarborough's salt mf. at Accomack, E. shore of Chesapeake; 4 yr. later repealed (1620).—The Gov. instructed to permit no printing (1638, 1684).——Pa.—Wm. Penn prophesies success in wine-making (1612, 1684)—Wm. Penn reports a good supply of bark for their tannery (1638, 1688).

1684, Va.—Printing-press set up and suppressed (1638, 1685).——Pa.—Beer and cider tax laid (1612, 1695).

1685, N. J.—Horse grist-mill building at Amboy (1626, 1693).——Pa.—Printing-press set up at Phila. (1638, 1688).

1688, N. Y.—Printing forbidden by royal authority (1638, 1693)—Shoe-strings take place of buckles.——16—, N. Y.—Tanneries driven out of "Shoemakers land" to "Fresh Water Pond" and "Beekman's Swamp," N. Y. City (1638).

1692, Mass.—Buildings above a certain size to be of brick or stone, and slate or tile roof (1612).

1693, Mass.—Timber grant at Cape Porpoise River if saw-mill is built (1626).——N. Y. City—Printing permitted (1638).

1695 N. Y.—Albany provides for a public supply of beer (1612).

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CHAPTER VII

TRADE, TRANSPORTATION, AND FINANCE

1607–1697

BEFORE the era of production was that of pillage. Savagery, barbarism, and the lower grades of civilization, whether of the individual, tribe, or nation, had two sources of wealth,—natural products and plunder. With higher civilization came production. With production came commerce or trade. With trade came finance and transportation. In earlier colonial times, the merchant was his own financier and often his own shipper. The shipper was also often merchant and financier.

In these beginning years of the twentieth century, each of these branches has become a distinct and mighty industry. Our merchants and their salesmen number a million and a quarter persons, carrying on an immense business, the annual volume of which can be safely estimated at over twenty billion dollars, and whose transactions cover the whole wide world, although more than nine tenths of their market is within the boundaries of our own country.

Trade

The making, the circulating, and the safe-keeping of money employs the entire diligence of two

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hundred and fifty thousand busy people, including as leaders men of the highest ability, the keenest perception, and the most assured integrity.

Finance

This important industry embraces the entire operations of National, State, and municipal treasuries; banks, clearing-houses, insurance, and trust companies; stock, financial, and market exchanges; as well as the accounting divisions of all other industries. It handles the two and one fourth billion dollars in circulation, every four weeks (thirteen times per year) in settling bills and adjusting balances for all the rest of our busy nation. It has become a mighty power—the heart of the industrial life of our people, which with its pulse-beats affects the fullness and squalor of homes, the happiness and sorrow of individuals, the success and failure of philanthropy, the march of intellect, and the well-being of morals.

Our transportation forces number over a million persons, and carry from producer to consumer, by land and by water, by steam and trolley, by cart and coach and sail, the tremendous volume of our national products, of field and forest, mine and shop; as well as the increasing tide of human freight which rushes with endless energy day and night, year after year, from Maine to Texas, and from New York to San Francisco.

Transportation

These three great industries number, all told, nearly three and a half million tireless workers,—about three times the entire strength of our great Union Army at its highest point during the Civil War.

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Yet in the earlier colonial years, these great enterprises had scarcely the shadow of an existence as separate industries. There were a few persons — the colonial treasurers — who were wholly employed in the care and circulating of money and its substitutes. These were our first financiers. Their most serious trials came when, about ten years before the middle of the seventeenth century, new settlers, who for several years had arrived in decreasing numbers, almost wholly ceased to come from Europe, thus cutting off the supply of money. Through this means a serious financial panic fell upon New England, bringing the twenty thousand settlers face to face with starvation and nakedness. The southern colonies, having tobacco to sell in Europe, suffered less seriously. Values fell amazingly. The price of cattle dropped about half, "greatly to ye damage of many, and ye undoing of some." Grain was made a legal tender for all debts. Property taken in execution was to be valued by "three understanding and indifferent men," one chosen by each party and one by the marshal. Various articles were used as money. Beaver skins, because they could be easily transported, were valued next to coin. Musket-balls were for a time legal tender at a farthing ($\frac{1}{2}$ cent) each, in amounts of a shilling (25 cents). Wampum, or peage—oblong beads made by Indians from certain sea-shells—was used as money, and a part of the time was a legal tender at varying standards. At first, three black or six white beads passed for a penny. They were strung in convenient values: a penny, three pence, a shilling, and five shillings in

Early Financiers

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white; two pence, six pence, two shillings sixpence, and ten shillings in black. A fathom (6 feet) was worth about $2.50 in white and twice as much in black. As the supply increased the value decreased. Finally Massachusetts refused to receive it for taxes and its value declined rapidly; about the close of the seventeenth century, its use as money wholly ceased.

Early Commerce

Much of colonial trade was by actual exchange of products direct: corn for wool, cloth for a cow, as boys trade knives, pencils, and other pocket property. This was inconvenient often, because the man with corn could not find the one with cloth, the man with hides could not find the one with shoes; therefore many substitutes were adopted.

As years passed, little stores were opened at other points than the sea-coast villages, whose merchants chiefly sold imported wares. In time, trade-fairs and markets in the larger villages gave to farmers a place to barter cattle, sheep, and grain for other sorts of goods.

Hindrances

Following the panic years, foreign trade and transportation developed rapidly, and the mother country took decided steps to capture its benefits by passing the famous "Navigation Acts." The first attempt, made just as New England was beginning manufacture, was by free trade to attract "raw material" products to England for completed manufacture, to be returned to the colonies for consumption. The colonists, however, chose to develop the advanced processes within their own effort.

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Just at the middle of the century, the next attempt was made to capture the growing ocean transportation of the colonies by requiring all products exported to be shipped in English vessels and by way of English ports. Ten years later, all colonial export, except to England or to English colonies, was forbidden as to certain "Enumerated Articles." The southern colonies were most hurt by this action, as tobacco was one of the articles named. The other articles were not important in any of the American colonies. The list of enumerated articles was extended from time to time; and finally made universal except as to salt (and a few unimportant items), and the prohibition was applied to import as well as to export.

The preamble to this last act avows the intent to keep "the colonies in a firmer dependence upon the mother country," and contains other similar avowals, closing, "it being the usage of other nations, to keep their plantation trade exclusively to themselves." These laws would have compelled the colonies to trade with England only, but they were not at first rigorously enforced except as to the southern colonies. That rigor bred a quick resentment and protest, and open rebellion soon developed in Virginia and Maryland. As the enforcement was extended to other colonies, the dissatisfaction extended, and the establishment of a standing Board of Trade, a few years before the close of the century, to have constant charge of their enforcement, was the firm beginning of the policy which finally separated the colonies from England and made of them a New Nation.

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Interferences with colonial trade had not yet much developed, although rivalry between New York and New Jersey had begun, and Governor Fletcher complains in a letter to the Lords of Trade that the Jerseys

"are now making war upon us in point of trade by which they will draw the shipping thither and establish a free port to the great prejudice of this place and sink trade greatly. They pay no duties to the King and all will flock to it. We already feel that of Pennsylvania where they trade at large under no regulations. This being much nearer, and on the same river with us, will utterly ruin the revenue of the province."

The colonies had also from time to time forbidden both export and import of specified products, as they deemed helpful to the interests of their own people.

Monopolies were frequent, even as they had been in England for two centuries, although an act of Parliament in 1624 swept most of them out of existence for the time being. The entire trade of New York was, until the middle of the seventeenth century, a close monopoly of the West India Company. The colonial records show not a few instances of monopoly granted both in manufacture and in trade. Examples are noted in the Historical Perspective at the close of this chapter.

Like the proverbial Irishman, the United States was "born all along shore." Jamestown, New York, Plymouth, and other earliest settlements are each equally the birthplace of the nation. Separated on land by long stretches of forest and intervening tribes of Indians, the most ready and safe pathway from one colony to another was the highway of the

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ocean. For many years almost the only transport whether for business, war, or counsel, was by water.

Gradually the Indian trails came to be used by colonists and their animals in "packing" goods upon their backs, from one inland point to another. Slowly here and there, they were widened for wagons, so that by the close of the seventeenth century there were a few crude forest roads traversing limited distances between the nearer prominent settlements. Some inland mail routes were already established, but the mail-bags were chiefly carried on the backs of men or horses.

The rest of the story, for this volume, is perhaps better told in the selected records following, which present in outline the prominent features of trade, transportation, and finance during the first century of colonial experience.

Historical Perspectives, 1607–1697

Trade

1613, N. Y.—Dutch establish a trading-post.
1619, Va. exported 20,000 pounds of tobacco to England.
1620, Va. exported 40,000 pounds of tobacco to England.
1621, N. Y.—Dutch W. I. Co. formed.—Va. exported 60,000 pounds of tobacco to Holland.
1627, Manhattan made trade arrangements with New England.
1628, N. Y.—The fur trade was flourishing.
1634, Mass.—The first "shop" (store) was opened, and a market set up, Thurs. ("Lecture day"), at Boston.
1641, N. Y.—Trade fairs for cattle sales.——Mass.—"There shall be no monopolies granted or allowed among us but of such new inventions, as are profitable to the country, and that for a short time." Yet, in 1648, the Court granted to "shewmakers" power to regulate the trade for 3 years. Evidences exist also of successful combinations of tanners, coopers, card-makers, glovers, and furriers.—Wheat exported.
1642, N. Y.—Non-intercourse with Connecticut proclaimed.
1642–3, Eng.—Parliament enacted free trade with the colonies.
1646, Mass.—Export of raw hides forbidden.
1651, Mass.—Boots and shoes (product of Lynn) exported from Boston.
1656, Va.—Beef, pork, and bacon exported to the West Indies.
1661, Eng.—Export of "enumerated articles" forbidden, unless to England.
1676, New Eng.—Rum taken to Carolina in exchange for tobacco.
1678, N. Y.—Flour and bread exported.
1682, N. Y.—Grand Jury annuls customs duties and free trade results.

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1686 (about), Pa.—Trade fairs established in Philadelphia.——N. J.—Flour exported to the West Indies and to other colonies.
1689, Pa.—Ten ships freighted with Pa. products for the W. I. Islands.
1691, N. Y.—Corn (wheat?) exported to the West Indies.
1694, N. J.—Export of lumber products forbidden, except directly to Gr. Britain, the W. I. Islands, the Summer or Wine Islands.
1697, N. J.—Trade fairs held two or three times per year—Wm. Penn proposed an American Congress of Commerce.

Transportation

1628, Mass.—"Roxbury is enjoyned to repair the other way toward the Dorchester mill upon paine of £20 forfett."
1633, Va. exported salt to Massachusetts.
1639, Mass.—The General Court ordered the trail from Plymouth to Boston made a public highway.
1640, Va.—"At Christmas . . . there were trading (transporting) . . . 10 sloops from London, 2 from Bristol, 12 Hollanders, and 7 from New England."
1650–1, Eng.—All colonial export was ordered to be transported by the way of English ports and in English ships.
1652, N. Y.—The one small wharf extended to 50 feet.
1653, Mass.—The "Kennebunk Road by the Sea" made "a sufficient highway for horses and foot."
1663, Eng.—Colonies forbidden to receive European goods unless carried in English ships.
1672, Monthly post established between New York and Boston.
1673, Mass.—The historic "Bay Path" from Wayland to Springfield was in existence.
1677, New Eng.—A postal system was inaugurated.
1678, N. Y.—A shipping treaty was demanded of N. J.
1695, A post route established from Potomac to Philadelphia (8 times a year).
1696, Eng.—Navigation Acts made more severe, and a standing Board of Trade established to enforce them.
Shortest ocean trip in the 17th century, eighteen days.

Finance

1617, Va.—Tobacco 3s. (nearly 75c.) per pound.
1621, Va.—Iron $50 per ton. Mass.—Exported $2500 worth of beaver skins and lumber to England. Early days of Plymouth, rate of interest on loans was 45%.
1624, Va.—Each planter not having furnished a man for the Castle had to pay 5 lb. of tobacco for himself and for each servant—War tax was 10 lb. tobacco for each male—4 lb. tobacco per head to pay expense of an agent to go to England for colonial interests, especially to have foreign tobacco excluded.
1626, N. Y.—Gov. Minuit bought Manhattan I. of Indians for scarlet cloth, brass buttons, etc. ($24).
1627, Mass.—Wampum first used as money—Eight colonists granted monopoly of Indian trade for sum of $9000.——N. Y.—Price of a cow, £30 ($150); a pair of oxen, £40 ($200).
1629, Mass.—$240 paid to the Co. secured 200 acres of land.
1630, Mass.—Wages for mechanics fixed at 2s. (50c.) per day and feed themselves, on penalty of 10s. to giver or taker of a larger wage (repealed in a few months).——N. Y.—Salt, $3.00 per ton, $1 per ½ bbl.
1632, Mass.—A qt. of milk a penny (2c.).——Va.—Tobacco, 6 pence (12c.) per lb.—Drunkenness fined 5s., and for each oath 1s.
1634, Mass.—Rent of Gov. Id., Boston Harbor, 1 hhd. wine yearly.
1635, Mass.—Musket-balls legal tender at ½c. each, to amount of 25c.
1637, N. Y.—Brick, $4 per thousand.
1638, N. Y.—Sole leather, 45c. lb.; upper leather, 60c.
1639, Va.—"Stop Law" makes 40 lb. tobacco = 100 lb. in debt payment, "during the stint" (tobacco having dropped to 3d. (6c.) per lb.——Mass.—Fishermen exempted from taxation.

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1640, New Eng.—FINANCIAL PANIC at its culmination.——Mass.—All legal restrictions on labor removed.

1645, Boston.—100 of Capt. Mason's oxen (improved breed) sold at £20 per head (ordinary, about half as much).——Mass.—Genl. Court asks who will buy ewe sheep at 40s. per head.——N. Y.—Carpenters' wages, 80c.; day labor, 40c.

1646, Eng.—Colonial exports made dutiable unless carried in English ships.——Mass.—Supply of salt by Spanish ships reduces price "from 36 to 16 per hhd.," which Gov. Hutchinson thought a "special providence"—Scarcity of salt, at times, sent the price to $3, $5, and even $12 per bush.

1650, N. Y.—Colonists invited by offer of land, tenement, tools, four cows, horses, and other animals, to be paid for in 6 yr.—A cow and calf worth £40 ($200).——Conn.—Debtors held to service.

1651, Boston—A mint set up.

1652, Mass.—"Pine tree" shillings, 6-penny and 3-penny pieces coined.

1658, Va.—Export duty of 10s. per hhd. laid on tobacco in Dutch ships, unless sent to England.

1661, Mass.—Wampum made a legal tender.

1662, Va.—Salary of parish ministers, not less than $320 per yr. and parsonage; funeral sermon, 400 lb. tobacco; marriage license, 200 lb. tobacco; proclamation of banns, 50 lb. tobacco—Philip Mallory "eminently faithful in the ministry," delegate to Eng. on church affairs, salary 11,000 lb. tobacco—15,000 lb. tobacco for compiling a revision of the statutes of Va.—License to retail liquor, 350 lb. tobacco.——Mass.—2-penny pieces coined.——Md.—Mint set up; silver and copper coined.

1663, Va.—Entertainment of strangers to be "of courtesy" unless preceding terms are made.

1665, Boston.—Malt importers ask for removal of customs duty.

1671, N. C.—Payment of royal taxes refused.

1673 (pub. date of *Holmes Annals*)—In Boston were 15 merchants worth from $2500 to $250,000 each, and 500 persons worth $15,000 each. "No beggars; not three persons put to death annually for theft."

1677, United Colonies.—Price of shoes fixed at not above 5½ pence a size "for all playne and wooden-heeled shoes . . . above men's sevens." Three-soled shoes, not above 7½ pence a size.

1678, N. Y.—Gov. Andros reported "A merchant worth £1000 or £500 [$5000 or $2500] is accounted a good and substantial merchant—A planter worth half that, in movables, is accounted rich. All estates may be valued at £150,000 [$750,000]"—Slaves worth about $150 each.

1680, Conn.—Butter, 6d. (12c.) a pound (a high price as wages were then).

1682, Va.—Dressed buckskins (a considerable article of clothing), 34c. each; wheat, $1 per bush.; tobacco, $2.50 per 100 lb. in payment of debt.——Me. and N. H.—White-pine boards, $7.50 per 1000 ft.; white oak staves, $15; red oak, $7.50; wheat, $1.25 per bush.; Indian corn, 75c. per bush.; silver, $1.50 per oz. Taxes were paid at these values, but ¼ off allowed for cash.

1683, N. J.—Price of lumber at Amboy reduced 50 % by the erection of several saw-mills.

1684, N. J.—Flax, twice hackled, 18c. a lb.——N. Y.—A 12-oz. loaf of bread, 6 stivers (12c.) wampum.——Pa.—Excise tax of 4c. per gal. on beer and cider.

1690, Mass.—Paper money issued (5s. to £5 notes) receivable for taxes and redeemable at the Treas. Issue limited to $133,333, but its discount was 50 % long before the limit was reached. It was then made legal tender in all payments and received at the treasury at 5 % premium.

1691, N. Y.—Corn (wheat?) exported to the West Indies.

1694, N. Y.—Gov. Fletcher complained, to the Lords of Trade, of shipping competition by N. J. and Pa.——Carolina.—Half-penny pieces coined.

—— William Penn's accounts show the cost of berry coffee in New York at 18s. 9d. (about $4.50) per pound—At the close of the 17th century the value of colonial imports of European products was nearly £400,000 ($2,000,000) per year.

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Part Four

Civilization

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Historical Perspective
CIVILIZATION

Explanatory: — Color shadings mark increase of population. Color circles measure populations. Events are representative, not exhaustive.

Va. 1607, Settled
Va. 1609, Jesuits begin Indian mission work
Va. 1611, Daily whipping until faith was acknowledged
N.Y. 1613, Settled
Va. 1615, Indian mission work in Maine
Va. 1616, "Smith's Description of Virginia"
N.J. 1617, Settled
Va. 1619, Slavery
Mass. 1620, Settled
Va. 1621, School
N.Y. 1623, Lutherans
N.H. 1623, Settled
Mass. 1623, Episcopalians
Va. 1624, "Smith's History of Virginia"
N.Y. 1628, Reformed Dutch
N.Y. 1628, Presbyterians
Mass. 1628, Church at Salem
Mass. 1629, Episcopalians expelled
N.Y. 1633, Dutch school
Mass. 1633, No liquor for Indians
Md. 1631, Settled
Conn. 1633, Settled
Va. 1633, Catholics
N.H. 1633, Congregationalists
Va. 1634, Non-Episcopalians expelled
Md. 1634, 2000 Catholics
R.I. 1636, Settled
Mass. 1635, Roger Williams expelled
Mass. 1638, HARVARD
Md. 1638, State relig. Catho.
Del. 1637, Settled
N.J. 1638, School
Mass. 1639, Printing permitted—Cambridge
Va. 1641, State religion, Episcopalian
Mass. 1640, Bay State Psalm Book"
Md. 1642, Puritans invited
Va. 1643, Puritans opposed
N.Y. 1643, Indian missionary work
Mass. 4?, Schools must teach reading and labor
Conn. 1642, School
Va. 1643, Settled
R.I. 1643, Religious freedom a bar to Union
Mass. 1645, Slave ship
Mass. 1647, Public schools made compulsory
Mass. 1648, 1st death for witchcraft
R.I. 1647, Full religious toleration enacted
Va. 1649, Twenty churches established
Md. 1649, Freedom of faith
Del. 1649, Freedom of faith enacted
N.Y. 1650, Slaves imported
Mass. 1651, Prison and whipping for difference of conscience
Conn. 1650, School compulsory
N.C. 1653, Settled
Md. '54, Toleration modified
Del. 1654, Dutch Reformed
Mass. 56, Quakers banished
Conn. 1656, 1st "Blue Laws"
Mass. 1657, Liquor prohibited to Indians
Conn. —"Half-way covenant" adopted
Mass. 1659-61, Quakers executed
R.I. 1652, Slavery forbidden
Va. 1658, Toleration except for Quakers and Baptists
Conn. 1659, Severe penalties for drunkenness
Mass. 1661, Quaker death laws revoked
Va. 1662, Mulatto children to be slaves
Conn. 1661, Preaching to Indians begun
Va. 1664, Clergy revoked
Mass. 1662, Press censors
Conn. 1662, "Witchcraft"
N.Y. 65, Liquor laws
Mass. 1663, Indian Bible printed
R.I. 1664, "Religious freedom" established
Va. 1668, Fatal whipping of slaves not felony
N.J. 1667, Church at Newark
N.J. 1668, Liquor selling regulated
Mass. 1670, Indian church
S.C. 1670, Settled
Carolina 1671, Slavery
Va. 1671, Governor opposes schools and printing
Md. 1671, Import of slaves encouraged
Mass. 1672, Library given to Harvard
Mass. 1674, Printing permitted at Boston
Del. 1675, 1st Quaker meetings held
Mass. 1675, Superstitious persecution of Christian Indians
Va. 1676, Liquor selling forbidden
N.J. 1677, Severe penalties for selling liquor to Indians
Pa. 1682, "Frame of Government"
S.C. 1682, Church
Mass. 1682, Church (in Maine)
N.Y. 1683, Religious toleration enacted
Md. 1683, Presbyterians
Pa. 1683, Peacemakers appointed
Va. 1684, Printing suppressed
Pa. 1685, Printing permitted
N.Y. 1688, Printing forbidden
Mass. 1686, Kings' Chapel built (Episcopal)
Mass. 1690, "Public Occurrences" suppressed
Pa. 1689, Presbyterians
N.Y. 169_, Gov. spoons two patriots
Mass. 1691, "New England Primer" published
Pa. 1692, Public High School chartered (Phila.)
N.Y. 169_, Printing permitted
Mass. 1692, Salem "Witchcraft"
Va. 1693, College of William and Mary chartered
Md. 1696, School opened
S.C. 1696, Catholics forbidden to vote
N.Y. 1695, The first Jewish synagogue in America erected
N.Y. 169_, The first Trinity Church opened.

Va.	N.Y.	N.J.	Mass.	N.H.	Md.	Conn.	R.I.	Del. & Pa.	Caro.
Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popula. in 1700	Popu'a. in 1700	Popula. in 1700
65,000	30,000	12,000	55,000	5,000	35,000	25,000	5,000	23,000	6,000

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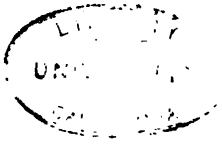

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CHAPTER I

RELIGION AND MORALITY

Our Mental Attitude

To men of the modern mind, the inner life of our ancestors of the seventeenth century is in certain aspects as incomprehensible as is the real inner life of the child or of the savage, of which we catch glimpses, but with which civilized adults cannot be completely sympathetic. To us, the plain people of the seventeenth century are relatively remote. Seen in the perspective of advancing civilization, they appear nearer to the tenth century than to the twentieth. Nor is the perspective wholly false, for the higher classes of minds are advancing at a constantly accelerated speed. We can best place ourselves in a just relation to the people of the seventeenth century by keeping clearly before us both the principle that the past always lives in the present, and the facts of the mental and moral conditions of many who are living in these times. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that not everything upon which we congratulate ourselves as progress is really such. Some apparent progress is mere change. And some change is real retrogression. The toleration in all religious matters, upon which we so justly pride ourselves, the complete divorce of Church and State,

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the freedom of speech and of the press, and the very freedom of thought may proceed so far as to amount to the symptoms, even to the causes, of the positive moral degeneration of society.

The critic of colonial life in America in the seventeenth century sees several great and significant truths that may be presented briefly as follows, viz.:

America versus Europe

1. America received as settlers relatively very few of the richest, the most powerful, the ablest men of Europe. She received, relatively to the average distribution in the society of the nations of northwestern Europe, but few of the commercial and manufacturing classes. She received relatively many to whom the New World meant opportunity to rise in the social scale, chiefly by acquiring land and the suffrage.

2. Until the close of the century, a great majority of the settlers were foreign-born or the children of the foreign-born, with all the traditions of Europe in their heads. America until 1697 was essentially another Europe, but with many of the old European social relations utterly changed. Mere transit across the sea never yet made any European an American. In the seventeenth century, there were few thoroughgoing Americans here to modify the new immigrants.

3. In the seventeenth century, that vast fermentation which later was to produce Americans and Americanism had reached only its beginnings. The colonies differed greatly in the extent of their diversity of nationalities, denominations, and classes. The ferment was least in Massachusetts, where the people were all much alike, and in Virginia, where

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social classes were at once sharply defined; and was greatest in Rhode Island, whither flocked persons of all opinions and nationalities.

4. The children of the immigrants were usually inferior in culture and morality to the immigrants themselves, but superior in intelligence and energy. The inferiority was due in part to lack of the opportunities of culture, and in part to the disintegrating influences of larger liberty; while the superiority was due to the necessities of the new conditions of life and to the harsher climate of eastern North America as compared with northwestern Europe.

5. England in the seventeenth century, whence we drew a clear majority of our people, was decidedly inferior, in all that makes for civilization and culture, to France, Switzerland, the Dutch Republic, and, before the Thirty Years' War, to Germany. By far the finest stock in Europe was upon that island, but the Teutonic settlement took place centuries after the settlement of France and the Netherlands. England was to Western Europe in the seventeenth century what America was to England from 1700 to 1850, and what the "West" was to the "East" in the United States from 1825 to 1875—a pioneer land.

These several historical truths are useful in the interpretation of the various subjects of this part of the narrative,—religion, morals, education, literature, social life. In these several chapters are brought together certain of the facts recorded elsewhere, and such other new facts as seem pertinent to the themes.

In every settlement in every colony, as soon as

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possible after arrival, some form of religious worship was instituted and some kind of house of worship was constructed. What form the worship took depended upon either the orders of the majority of the colonizing company, or of the proprietor, or upon the sentiment of a majority of the settlers. How soon a house of worship was established depended entirely upon the means of the company or of the settlers, or of both combined. These facts are significant of the minds of the people of the seventeenth century, which was not merely a religious century, but a century extraordinarily interested in religion. It was the century of aggressively militant Protestantism, which, though not broken into nearly as many sects as now, was a strenuously active and socially disintegrating movement. Nearly every man and woman of the seventeenth century cared about his religion and about the religion of his neighbor.

Religious Worship

A striking fact about the houses of worship was their very small size. The congregation resembled at most a large patriarchal family rather than a community. The pastor led a flock, not a regiment. His relation to his people was ministerial, magisterial, instructional, disciplinary rather than oratorical and hortatory. It is a familiar fact that the pastor was usually the only learned person in the community. It is also well known that, in Massachusetts, there was an unusually large proportion of ministers not in charge of churches. Assistant pastors were numerous. Many of these learned men with parishes taught school. Indeed, every church in Massachusetts from the first sought to maintain both

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a pastor and a teacher. After the great Indian war in 1675–78, however, there were but few churches wealthy enough to maintain this dual pastorate.

The Clergy

Even in New England, there were always many villages and even towns without ministers and teachers, while elsewhere only a small proportion of the colonial communities could support ministers. Of them as a class, it may be said generally, that the ministers who came from the Old World were far better educated than those who, in the second generation of colonists, were educated in the rude New World. Unquestionably, the ministry sadly deteriorated in scholarship and in morals during the century. Especially in Virginia and the Carolinas were the clergy of inferior intelligence and character. There, everything in the way of local conditions was unfavorable to the maintenance of large congregations able to pay fair stipends. The only mode of intercommunication between plantations was by water-transit, and few persons lived in communities. Virginia was almost without towns and even villages. The clergy of the Established Church were paid with reasonable regularity; but, in the greater part, the population depended upon the occasional visits of unattached clerics for their baptisms and marriages. The itinerant clergy lived upon their irregular fees, and their daily lives were often given to roystering and sometimes to flagrant immorality.

Character of the Churches

The positions of the various churches in relation to the government differed in the various colonies. These differences were not due entirely to the differences between the

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colonies, whether royal, proprietary, or charter, in respect to their government. An "Established Church" did not mean the same thing in New York that it did in Virginia or the Carolinas. To cite the typical instances, we may say that in Massachusetts (a charter colony during most of the century), the Puritan Church was the established government, and church-meetings were town-meetings. By mere force of the migration across the sea, all Puritans became Separatists; and there were no bishops and king near, to appoint all subordinates in the Church. The pastors were not given to the people by the powers above them, but by the commons about them; the migration across the Atlantic issued in the revolution from monarchy to democracy, a revolution in the Church that opened the way for the revolution to come in the State. By this religious revolution, every church became self-governing. Most, if not all, of the people within the bounds of the parish were ruled by it, for church, parish, and town were practically one. When the population grew larger than could be brought together harmoniously in a single church, or "meeting-house" as the Puritans preferred to call the place of worship, then a second church was organized. Here was the opportunity of dissension, whose final outcome was toleration as the only means to avoid civil and religious war.

The community with two or three churches necessarily developed a measure of separation of Church and State, and the town-meeting, at first of slight importance, became a larger matter than a church-meeting. In the Tudor and Stuart monarchy, the

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centre of political and ecclesiastical gravity was in the king. In the Puritan theocracy, it was in the Church in matters of religion; but in the State, as represented in the particular town, in matters of politics. The representative officer of the theocracy was the learned divine who discoursed for hours upon the Sabbath day, regarding any and all matters of this world and of the world to come. He was the teacher of adults, the recognized fountain of wisdom; but he drew his income, not from legal tithes or parish funds or other vested interests, but from the free grants of the people who chose him. Thus was founded New England Congregationalism, represented at the present time by the so-called orthodox Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Baptists.

In New York, throughout the century, "Established Church" meant a church supported either by the Dutch West India Company, before 1664, or by the proprietor and king, after that time. The ministers were selected in the Old World, and were officers of what was essentially a State Church. Yet other modes of worship were freely permitted, as in England and Holland. The various Dissenters paid, of course, the ecclesiastical "rates" as well as the salaries of their own divines. In Pennsylvania, there was no Established Church, for the Friends made no political arrangement to pay stipulated salaries to the "public Friends" or preachers.

In Virginia, "Establishment" meant a very positive matter. Other churches than the Anglican were discouraged, not upon religious grounds so much as upon political and financial grounds. The persecution of Dissenters was so effective that we

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hear little of them, for they moved away. Freedom to think differently from one's neighbors was an unpopular notion, and was discountenanced by the elegant upper society of the "Old Dominion." They objected to the democracy of New England Puritanism, for in the Congregational Church the members claimed the right to elect and to ordain their own officers, to admit, to transfer, and to expel members, and to own and to control all church property. They saw the weakness of the minister whose service is subject to the will of his people; but they failed to see, or saw and disliked, the strength of the member whose individual judgment was exercised upon matters of worship and of business.

The Various Denominations

As Puritanism in New England developed characteristically into Congregationalism, with its council of churches as the advisory superior body, so in the Middle Colonies it developed characteristically into Presbyterianism. It would be very interesting to trace historically the origin and progress of this movement, to which strength was added by the presence of the Dutch and German Reformed churches in New York and Pennsylvania. Presbyterianism as a separate denomination did not become a very strong movement in America in the seventeenth century. Its mode of government was not as complicated then as now,—a session of the elders including the ruling elder and the minister, or teaching elder, and the presbytery of a district, consisting of all the teaching elders, marked the development. Synods and general assemblies were yet in the future. The Anglican churches were not yet episcopal in their

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organization, for there were no bishops in America until after the War of Independence, a century later. Each church was governed by its own vestry and parochial clergyman; and the influence and authority of the church was extended throughout the parish to many matters not ecclesiastical or religious. The Anglican Church in Virginia was stronger than the Puritan Church in Massachusetts, and in both colonies, government was coterminous with religion. The other denominations of importance in colonial America were the Baptists, the Huguenots, the Friends, and the Roman Catholics. The Baptists were governed substantially as were the Puritans, the Huguenots were closely similar to the Presbyterians, the Friends were almost a pure democracy, and the Catholics had their familiar hierarchical organization with ultimate dependence upon the Pope at Rome. These last were but few in number, and in 1697, had lost political control even of their own colony, Maryland.

Anglicanism versus Puritanism

There was a striking difference in the relations of Church and people between the Anglican Church in Virginia and the Puritan Church in Massachusetts. The former by law required the baptism of infants and attendance upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They regarded every person as born into the Church with the obligations and privileges of religion as certainly as he is born into the State with the obligations and privileges of government. By their theory and practice, the institution became a unifying social force. But the Puritan churches held church-membership and baptism as exclusive privileges of the

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"elect." By their system, the institution became a disintegrating force in society. The later progress and influences of these forces must be traced in succeeding volumes of this history. For the religious history of the seventeenth century, it is perhaps sufficient to say that in Massachusetts as in Virginia, in New York as in Maryland, there were many persons essentially social outcasts either because they would not join any church of Dissenters or because they would not admit the jurisdiction of the Established Church. From the restlessness and independence of these persons in religious matters, there developed great influences toward political freedom, for in the wide wilderness of the New World, they prospered and multiplied.

The Idea of God

Religion may be defined as a sense of relation between God and man, between the Creator and His creation, chief in which are His human creatures. In the seventeenth century, there was not very much theorizing about that relation. Milton, the Puritan poet, conceived of God as a monarch with thousands of angels to do His bidding, and disposed to rule over His subject men as absolutely and as terribly as any earthly monarch ruled over men. In America, there were ascribed to God inventions of torture unparalleled in their ferocity. He was said to assign "the easiest room in hell for infants." In Virginia, this misery was supposed to befall unbaptized infants only, but in Massachusetts none were imagined to escape. In the seventeenth century in America, the mortality among infants was dreadful. Small wonder, then, that the mothers died young

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from overwork, over-child-bearing, and broken hearts! In New England, only the "elect" and "regenerate" were commonly admitted to be certain of a heavenly immortality.

Religious Obligations

At the present time, religion is regarded as imposing the obligation of three several duties,—of reverence to God, of concern for the welfare of one's fellow-men, and of self-respect, self-culture, or call what one will the duty to make one's own life worth while. Of religion with this meaning, we do not see very much in the society of colonial America in the seventeenth century. To judge by the reports of the sermons, the religion of that time was what we now call "religiosity," worship without adequate moral expression in grace, charity, or other virtues of daily life. In the delight of the colonial Englishmen in the "imprecatory psalms," we see the underlying ferocity of their unrefined Teutonic hearts. It is fair for the historian to go even a little further and to say that the colonial theologians held religiosity as more important than morality. This was, however, more generally true of Virginians than of New Englanders.

Punishment and Reform

These latter stern folk endeavored by the theory and practice of theocratic government to reform all manner of loose practices. The very punishments of the times show the rudeness of many of the people. Seriously considered, the latter half of the seventeenth century was an age of the compulsory reformation of the conduct of adults, as the latter half of the nineteenth century was an age of the compulsory education of

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the intelligence of children. Such was the true meaning of fines, pillories, stocks, branks, ducking-stools, and whipping-posts to punish lying, swearing, drunkenness, scolding, fornication, and other moral offences now considered rather as sins than as crimes. Even the bond-service may be considered as reformatory of conduct. In many of its religious and moral aspects, the seventeenth was a century of apparent contradictions such as would be expected in isolated colonies composed of extremely varied social elements. The most energetic workers for better morals in New England were the ministers; in Virginia, the leading laymen.

Music and Ritual

There is a striking contrast between the North and the South in respect to ritual. So anxious was Massachusetts to avoid all extrinsic attractions in worship that, as every one knows, music was severely restricted to psalm-singing, and the extremists urged that no "carnall men and Pagans" should be allowed to take part. Music-notation was quite forgotten, a fact that had no small influence toward deterioration of culture. Even in Maryland and Virginia, there were not in all as many as six church-organs, though, in the latter colony, the ritual was carefully maintained in most respects. In the North, church-music was considered evil, because it "bewitched the mind with syrenes sounds." The use of the Bible itself was discouraged as tending to idolatry. We see herein a revival of the notion of the mediæval times, that books (especially the Book) are sacrosanct. In certain churches, women were required to wear veils, that the men might not be distracted from worship.

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When we consider, however, just what the morals of Englishmen of all classes really were, we must view most of the efforts of the best colonials with leniency, if not with approval. The May festivals were but Teutonic editions of the Roman Saturnalia. The disappearance of the Catholic confessional had been followed by a breaking-down of sexual morality. Even the new fashion of the Italian learning had worked for moral debasement. Roger Ascham, the learned teacher of Elizabeth, deplored the rising tide of immorality. Later, the new French influences at Court, in the reigns of the Stuarts, tended to corrupt still more sadly the morals of the aristocracy. Unquestionably, America saw cleaner living generally than did England. We hear less of gambling, of food-adulteration, of highway robbery, in the New World than in the Old. That piracy, Negro-trading, and smuggling throve in this land of the breaking-down of social conventions, of class and caste, of race-enmities, and of privileges in Church and State, shows that the liberated energies of men had not yet found proper moral channels in which to flow.

English and American Morals

There remains for discussion, for the sake of its own interest and for its power to illuminate the history of morals in the seventeenth century, the tale of the witchcraft delusion, and, in particular, of the trouble in Salem, Massachusetts. Undoubtedly, the witchcraft notion was an attempt, in ages when nothing was accurately known of the nature and laws of the human mind, to explain the superior influences of one mind in its

Witchcraft

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relation to another. It is a fact of the highest significance that we who live in the twentieth century take the words "witchery" and "bewitching" as wholly delightful; to us they convey ideas of charm, fascination, happiness, buoyant vitality disposed to the welfare of others. We are as far away from the time of the witchcraft delusion as day is from night. To the men of the seventeenth century, any influence of one person over another, not due to the police power of government, to the possession of material wealth, or to the superiority of physical strength, might lead to a suspicion of occult, supranormal, demonic, spiritual power. That was a time when even God Himself was still supposed, upon Old Testament principles, to be a jealous and revengeful god, and when, in the hierarchies of heaven and of hell, angels scarcely less than devils were working to impose their own wills for their own good upon miserable men. Englishmen generally, both in England and in America, had little more knowledge of the divine providence of a God of love than the red men of the Appalachian forests. William Shakspere and Francis Bacon believed in witches. Lecky, the great historical philosopher, reminds us that, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, twenty-five books were published in England in defence of the delusion of witchcraft. The immortal Addison, as late as 1711, asserted his superstitious faith, in papers in the *Spectator*. In all Western Europe, Holland alone refused to accept the notion, as our own Motley and others have so conclusively proven. Consequently, in those American colonies in which Dutch people or Dutch ideas

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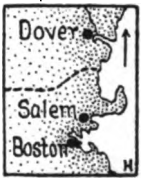
were influential, the delusion never prevailed. In particular, the Dutch Reformed, the Quaker, the Independent (Baptist and Separatist) communities never tolerated the horrible superstition.

When we consider the black stain upon Massachusetts, of the five years of persecution of witches in old Salem, founded in 1626, we find our only comfort in these reflections: that the delusion lasted forty years longer in England than here, that so bitter was the repentance and so widespread the publication of it, that the Salem horror served as a lesson for all America, and that the total number of lives lost was but nineteen. Our American historian, Fiske, points out the fact that some of the persons were charged with witchcraft solely because they themselves asserted that they were possessed by devils. The delusion affected alike the prosecuted and the prosecutors. Cotton Mather, minister, lawyer, doctor, author, believed in witch-possession and in the possibility of its cure. In one case, that of a young girl who believed herself possessed of devils, he overcame the belief and claimed a cure. We may not go into the history of the several Salem cases, instructive though that would be. The foremost managers of the witchcraft horrors were a woman, half-Indian, half-Negro, who was steeped in voodooism, a high-strung and brilliant lady of thirty years, and some nine girls all under twenty, known as the "Afflicted Children." The worst of the trouble began in 1691. The "children" (like modern children of earlier years) played

Persecution in Salem



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animals and medicine-men, and when their elders began to fear for their sanity, asserted that they were bewitched by various estimable ladies of the vicinity. The old town was then sorely divided into factions, and their enmities violently increased the agitation. By the middle of the year 1692, more than a hundred and twenty-five people, including a minister who was a graduate of Harvard, were in jail. Fear settled in every household. In that awful hour, when the voice of every man and woman and child was likely to be against his neighbor, Cotton Mather wrote:

". . . there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences; . . . so it is necessary that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness toward those that may be complained of."

And yet, like the amiable but weak Judge Sewall, he allowed himself to be pressed forward to the awful consummation. The victims were convicted upon that "spectral evidence" which Mather particularly pronounced incompetent, and included the Harvard graduate, Rev. Mr. Burroughs, and a most attractive and gifted old lady, Mrs. Rebecca Nurse, who was cruelly excommunicated from the church before being taken to the gallows. The collapse of the prosecution came when the "Afflicted Children" turned upon the Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of Old South Church, Boston, upon Lady Phips, wife of the vigorous governor, and upon Mrs. Hale, wife of the pastor at Beverly. A young father, who, to protect

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himself and family, kept himself well armed and a horse always saddled in the barn, helped to break up this supreme folly. Finally, in Andover, certain persons, being accused of witchcraft, brought suit for defamation of character, and the panic was over. Moreover, at this very time, by the new charter, the old court of Oyer and Terminer, under which the convictions had been secured, was abolished, and the new court refused to entertain a majority of the hundred and fifty new indictments and cleared all the persons held upon the charges. As for Judge Samuel Sewall, he afterwards made public confession of his guilt, and prayed for forgiveness in Old South Church. Not so did Judge William Stoughton, who to the day of his death could not see his error, but apparently believed that his convictions (for the judges in many cases browbeat the jury into verdicts of guilty) had frightened the devils out of the bodies of the Salem folk. This was the hard-tempered man who declared more eloquently than truthfully: "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into this wilderness."

The New York Trial

In striking contrast with the hysterical frenzy of the Salem witchcraft faction, we may set the New York case of the Halls, husband and wife, who, in 1665, were accused of "murder by witchcraft," and were discharged by the cool-headed Dutch-English jury because "nothing considerable" was presented against them. It is agreeable and profitable also to remember that Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, lent no favorable countenance to the practice of the witchcraft theory, but published far and wide his

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own opposing opinions, considerably to the benefit of his day and generation throughout England and America.

An Age of Ignorance

The real wonder, however, is not that the delusion produced its own terrible cure, but that in an age of astounding ignorance and superstition, it was cured by a single outbreak. Astrology was only beginning to pass away. Comets were still supposed to be "the threats of God in the sky." Insects of all kinds were believed to be the products of animal and vegetable putrefaction—a belief endorsed by Bacon himself, as astrology was by Kepler. Birds and frogs were thought to be derived from rotten wood, and the former, as well as the latter, were believed to hibernate through the winter in muddy river-beds. Angels innumerable were supposed to be ever at work to keep the world in motion. The lightnings were regarded as the thunderbolts of devils. Small wonder, then, that witches were "swum" at New Haven and Springfield, and that the wife of a Boston magistrate, as early as 1656, was "hanged for a witch only for having more wit than her neighbors," as was said frankly then. Only the Turks had no witches, being "themselves the people of Satan," but a round hundred thousand perished in Christian Europe. Everybody knew then that ghosts really haunted houses, and that witches rode by night through the sky. The punishments inflicted were terrible. Old Giles Corey, past threescore years and ten, was slowly pressed to death at Salem, being as guiltless of witchcraft as any stiff-necked, shrewd, and well-to-do old man of

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the twentieth century could possibly be. Aristotle, the ancient, had not affirmed that the blood circulates; therefore, thought the seventeenth-century multitude, Harvey was wrong. Even Harvard College did not accept the idea of the circulation of the blood until 1699. The human body supposedly consisted of earth, air, fire, and water, and manifested four humors, melancholy of earth, blood of air, daughter of fire, and phlegm of water. Blood-letting was the commonest remedy for all manner of diseases. Every substance had its "signature," by which it became a specific for disease; porous leaves cured abraded skin. "Curing by the assimulate" taught physicians to put saffron in milk as a cure for "yellow jaunders."

Many seventeenth-century remedies remind us of Chinese therapeutics. Every one believed in alchemy. Tinctures of gold, so-called "potable gold," would cure almost any disease, for gold was of the very nature of the sun, and the sun gave life and health. "Venice treacle," composed of sixty ingredients, including snake flesh, was a panacea. Botanical remedies from new American plants were multiplied. The kidney bean, by the doctrine of signatures, cured kidney diseases—"God creates nothing in vain," said the simple colonists. Seneca snake-root was exported to Europe. The surgeon-barber became a doctor, for shaving went out of style. There were not a few women physicians. At various times, the local governments employed physicians at public expense to attend the poor.

Thus, everywhere, men were groping for the light and for righteousness. How far they fell below the

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actual condition of Holland, the true mother country of our colonial civilization, may be realized by the testimony of an English visitor, Sir William Temple, master of diplomacy and of political science, who wrote of the Dutch as follows:

Contrast with Holland

"You would think, being with them, you were in old Israel, for you find not a beggar among them. Nor are they mindful of their own alone, but strangers also partake of their care and bounty. If they will depart, they will have money for their convoy. If they stay, they will have work provided. If unable, they find an hospital. The deprivation of manners they punish with contempt, but the defects of nature they favor with charity. Even their Bedlam is a place so curious that a lord might live in it. Their hospital might lodge a lady; so that safely you may conclude amongst them even poverty and madness do both inhabit handsomely. And though vice make everything turn sordid, yet the State will have the very correction of it to be near, as if they would show that, though obedience fail, yet government must be still itself and decent. To prove this, they that do but view their Bridewell will think it will receive a gentleman, though a gallant, and so their prison a wealthy citizen. But for a poor man 't is his best policy to be laid there, for he that cast him in must maintain him."

The general colonial poverty, the fundamental English rudeness of mind and conduct, the distractions of life in the New World, the unsettling of all values, kept America far from achieving in morals and philanthropy the high civilization of the people by the Zuyder Zee.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—MORALS, 1607–1697

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

1607, Va.—All taxed for church support—Holy sacrament in a veil enclosed with sailcloth.

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1609, Va.—Jesuits begin mission work among Indians.
1611, Va.—Day's work begun by prayer in the little church—Daily whipping until faith is acknowledged.
1612, Va.—Lottery for the benefit of the colony.
1614, Va.—Pocahontas baptized as "Rebecca."
1615, Me.—Mission work among the Indians.
1619, Va.—Episcopal, made State Church—Laws against dice, cards, drunkenness, and idleness—Slavery introduced.
1620, Mass.—Congregational service.
1621, N. Y.—Lutherans settle.——Mass.—Duelists punished.
1622, Mass.—Indians defrauded at Weymouth.
1623, Mass.—Episcopal service.——N. H.—Toleration toward all faiths.——N. Y.—Persecuted Walloons arrive.——Va.—Law expelling non-Episcopalians.
1626, N. Y.—Negro slavery—Reformed Dutch service.
1628, N. Y.—Reformed Dutch Church—Presbyterian Church.——Mass.—Congregational Church.
1629, Mass.—Two Episcopalians expelled.
1630, Mass.—Fast-day changed to thanksgiving—Winthrop joins the Puritans.——Conn.—Presbyterian service.——N. Y.—Reformed Dutch service at Albany.
1631, Mass.—Roger Williams and John Eliot arrive—Taxes laid for church support—Church attendance by law—Only church members eligible to important offices.
1633, Va.—Reformed church service.——N. H.—Congregational service.——Md.—Society of Jesus organized.——Mass.—Selling or giving "strong water" to Indians forbidden.
1634, Md.—200 Catholics arrived.——Mass.—Quakers opposed—Mrs. Hutchinson organized a meeting of women—Irreligion punishable.——Va.—Non-Episcopalians expelled.
1635, Mass.—Roger Williams and Smyth expelled as heretics.
1636, Del.—Lutheran service.
1637, Mass.—Negro slaves imported—Anne Hutchinson banished.
1638, R. I.—A citizen disfranchised for abusing his wife.——N. H.—Congregational service.——Mass.—One retailer of liquor for each of eleven towns.
1639, R. I.—Baptist service—Roger Williams withdraws.——Conn.—Citizenship to church members only—Religious toleration.——Md.—Catholicism made State religion.——Mich.—Indian missions centered at St. Mary's.
1640, N. Y.—Puritan service at Southold.——Mass.—Pillory for unbelief.
1641, N. Y.—"Free exercise of religion."——Va.—Non-Episcopalianism a crime.
1642, Mass.—Toleration begun.——Del.—Indian mission work.——Md.—Catholics welcome Protestants—Fine for drunkenness.——N. H.—Episcopal minister banished.
1643, Va.—Puritans held in contempt.——Mass.—Whipping for sleeping in church.——R. I. excluded from United Colonies for "Freedom of Worship."
1644, Pa. permitted liquor to be sold to Indians.——Mass.—Rejectors of infant baptism ordered banished.——Md.—Jesuits expelled.
1645, Boston.—Ship engaged in slave-trade.——Conn.—Liquor prohibited to Indians.
1646, Mass.—Eliot began his Indian mission work.
1647, R. I.—Drunkenness and liquor-selling to Indians penalized—Complete religious toleration.
1648, N. J.—Complete toleration.
1649, Del.—Complete toleration.
1650, Mass.—"The Half-Way Covenant."——N. C.—Presbyterian settlement.——Conn.—Graded penalties for drunkenness.——N. Y.—Negro slavery.
1651, Boston.—Expulsion for non-communion—Man whipped for being a Baptist.——M. Vineyard.—190 Indian conversions.
1652, R. I.—Slavery prohibited.
1653, Va.—Oppressed Presbyterians emigrate to N. C.
1654, Mass.—Liquor-sellers fined.
1654–5, Md.—Bloody conflict between Protestants and Catholics.

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1656, N. Y.—Jews permitted residence—Baptists persecuted.——New Eng.—Quakers persecuted.
1657, Mass.—Liquor prohibited to Indians.
1658, Md.—Stocks, fines, and disenfranchisement for drunkenness.——New Eng.—Death for Quakers.——Va.—Toleration except for Quakers.
1659, Mass.—Three Quakers executed and many imprisoned.——Conn.—Distilling prohibited.
1661, Mass.—Quaker death law repealed.——R. I.—Quaker meeting established.
1662, Mass.—Death for adultery.——Va.—Children of Negro mothers to be slaves, even if born of white or free black fathers (contrary to English common law)—Baptists and Quakers oppressed.
1664, Va.—Clergy rebuked for drinking and rioting.
1668, Va.—Fatal punishment of a slave not criminal.
1670, Mass.—Names of drunkards posted.——S. C.—Joint settlement of Presbyterians and Independents.——Va.—Non-Christian servants imported become slaves.
1671, Mich.—Indian mission work active.——Carolina—Slavery
1672, N. C.—Settlement of "Friends"—George Fox visits America—Quaker settlements.
1673, N. Y.—Dutch deprive Lutherans of their only church edifice.
1675, Mass.—Persecution of Christian Indians.
1676, Va.—Sale of liquor prohibited.
1677, N. J.—Various penalties for selling liquor to Indians.
1678, N. Y.—Protestant Episcopal service.
1680, Carolina—The "Ill-livers"(renegades) opposed.
1681, N. J.—Liquor prohibited to Indians—Criminals to be pardoned by the injured parties.
1682, Me.—Baptists opposed by the "Standing Order."
1683, N. Y.—Full toleration.——N. J.—Many persecuted Scotch Covenanters arrive.
1684, Mass.—Universalism rebuked.
1685, Pa.—Quakers declare against liquor for Indians.
1686, Mass.—Episcopacy made dominant by Andros.
1689, Pa.—Presbyterianism begins.
1690, Ind.—Mission at Vincennes.
1691, Md.—Catholics taxed to support Church of England.
1692, N. Y.—The Eng. Test Act enforced against Catholics—Whipping-post, pillory, and ducking-stool are set up.——Mass.—Twenty "witches" put to death, fifty-five tortured, and jails filled.
1693, Va.—Episcopal college (William and Mary) established.
1694, R. I.—Jewish service.
1695, Pa.—Episcopal service.
1696, Fla.—Catholic service.——N. Y.—First Trinity church built.
1698, Cal.—Spanish missions established.

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CHAPTER II

EDUCATION

Of schools and colleges in colonial America in the seventeenth century, the record is brief. The projected free school for Virginia was given up because of the Indian war of 1622 and the overthrow of the Virginia Company in 1624. A "free school," in the meaning of the times, was a Latin grammar school, with an endowment such as would partly pay for the instruction. Everything else must be wholly paid for, —entrance fees for registration, fires, light, candles, paper, quill pens, cleanings, and whippings! Nearly all pupils paid gratuities or honorariums to the master for himself and the ushers. No other free school in Virginia was proposed until 1634, when Benjamin Symmes left by will two hundred and fifty acres of land with a hay marsh and eight milch cows, to endow a school. In 1675, Henry Peasley and others established, upon a still larger foundation, a similar school. In the meantime, several other schools had been established.

The Free Schools

Nothing else of educational importance occurred until the establishment of the college and free school of William and Mary in 1692. All the other education that was available in Virginia was that in

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the pay schools for reading, writing, and sewing, maintained usually by women for the benefit of small children, and that secured by the employment of some scholar as tutor in the family of a wealthy planter. Very often the planter bought the tutor as an indentured servant for a term of years. Until the end of the century, higher education was really unknown, and culture was at a very low ebb. But for the importation of a few learned divines, scholarship would have almost entirely disappeared in Virginia.

Other Educational Opportunities

In Massachusetts, the Boston Latin School was established in 1635, and, twelve years later, a general law was passed by the General Court, requiring towns of fifty householders to maintain what we should now call an elementary school, and towns of a hundred householders a Latin grammar school, to prepare youths for entrance at Harvard College, which had been established in 1636. Various methods of support were devised for these "free schools," from the various grants in Virginia of land with tenants, servants, and milch cows to rents of commons, of shops, of houses, and of ferries, and to taxes. Besides the Latin grammar schools, there were the dame schools for the study of the "a, b, abs" and of the "a b cees," writing schools, schools of arithmetic (then greatly complicated because of the various moneys in use and of the extremes of weights and measures); and schools for the practice of the vernacular. The early legislation was directed to the advancement of the children in both "learning and labor," that they might "read and understand the principles of

Legislation

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religion and the capital laws of this country," and be skilful in "spinning," "knitting," "weaving tape," etc. An elaborate apprentice system was devised as early as 1642. The Ordinance of 1647 began as follows: "It being one of the chief projects of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, . . . that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church and commonwealth."

In 1650, Connecticut repeated in its legislation the same preamble. In 1655, the leaders of New Haven, Davenport and Eaton, prepared a code, from whose text the following passage may well be quoted:

Compulsory Education

"Whereas too many parents and masters, either through an over tender respect to their own occasions and business, or not duly considering the good of their children and apprentices, have too much neglected duty in their education while they are young and capable of learning."

Then followed positive legislation for compulsory education, that the children might

"be able duly to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue being their native language and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian religion necessary to salvation."

The care of the constables was to extend to boys of the age of twenty-one and to girls of eighteen. That great law was by no means English; rather, it was essentially Dutch in its principle. In 1658, the son-in-law of Eaton, Edward Hopkins, who had made

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some money in New England, died in England, leaving a portion of the money to found the famous Hopkins Grammar Schools of Hartford, New Haven, and Hadley. In 1690, the Connecticut grand jury was instructed to examine all persons under age suspected to be illiterate, and to fine neglectful parents or masters.

Pennsylvania, in 1683, provided that all children should be taught reading, writing, and the elements of some trade, and that education should be made universal by being made compulsory. All honor to William Penn and to the General Assembly! Though the law became a dead letter, it set a standard for all time.

In 1689, the famous Penn Charter School, still in operation, was begun in Philadelphia. In the seventeenth century, New York had not entirely neglected the instruction of the youth. An elementary school, the oldest in America, was established in 1633 by the joint action of the Dutch West India Company and of the Presbyterian Classis (Dutch Reformed Calvinist) of New Amsterdam. In 1659, a Latin school was founded, and had an exciting early history under a contentious and incompetent "rector," who seems to have been miserly, and mean, also. At any rate, the boys of his school "beat each other and tore the clothes from each other's backs," according to contemporary report. This rector remained but two years, during which he received seven hundred florins annually, at a time when the grammar masters of Massachusetts considered twenty pounds guaranteed an ample reward. In 1672, the school

Academic Education

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went out of existence. At this period, a private school of the Latin grammar type prospered in the care of a Mr. David Jamison, a Scotchman, who came out to America as a redemptioner, to rise to the high station of Chief Justice of New Jersey.

Maryland began active educational work as early as 1639, by opening "schools for teaching humanities." In 1696, general legislation for the maintenance of Latin schools was adopted. This caused considerable wrangling, in the course of which, that interesting and irritable colonial official, Francis Nicholson, appeared to the advantage of his reputation by supporting the cause of popular education.

In similar fashion, we might trace the beginnings of education in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Carolinas. But the recital would be more painful than profitable; for the pioneers were not scholars, but laborious workers in field and in forest and upon the sea. As Eggleston, in his narrative of the "transit of civilization," well says, the pioneers "hardly knew more of literature than did the Greek heroes or the Hebrew patriarchs." They could shoot deer and Indians better than they could spell English words or recite Latin paradigms. The town-meeting and vestry scribes, in one colony and another, cheerfully and indifferently made contracts with schoolmasters to teach "refmetick" or "retmitick." And at this very time English officeholders were signing their names "with a mark." In Andover, Massachusetts, in 1664, five out of eleven men upon a coroner's jury could neither "rite" nor "wright." Doubtless, more than half of

Illiteracy of Pioneers

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all colonial Englishmen in the seventeenth century were illiterate.

Characteristics of the Schools

Of the grammar schools, there was a good deal of complaint that they did not teach "writing and arithmetic." Finally, Latin survived with difficulty. All schools were essentially and notoriously religious. Secular education was far in the future. In Maryland, the Catholic Upper House of the Legislature fought the Protestant Lower House regarding the religions to be taught in the schools. The children went to school wonderfully early: six o'clock was the usual hour in winter for those poor little souls, who did not get breakfast until they reached home after eleven o'clock! The afternoon session lasted from one o'clock till six. Moreover, school was usually kept six days in the week. There were no girls in any of these American schools, and not one New England woman in a dozen could write her name. Everywhere, the school punishments were cruel; sometimes they were brutal; occasionally they were fiendish. This was true in the early days of Harvard College even, with its president and one or two instructors. Corporal punishment has been in all ages a substitute for ability and intelligence, on the part of parents and teachers alike.

The First Colleges

As for the courses of study in the two American colleges in existence at the end of the seventeenth century, Harvard in Massachusetts and William and Mary in Maryland, that in the former was theological, scholastic, and classical, while that in the latter was essentially an academic Latin grammar course. In the modern

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time, we can understand little of either. The Latin authors were read, often with translations, and there seems to have been in America but little effort to conduct all recitations in that greatest of all dead languages —Latin. There was much discussion of grammar, but, of course, none of the origins of languages. Dialectic disputes raged vigorously, and the masters seem to have encouraged personal enmities and rude speeches as modes of increasing the interest of the pupils. The substance of the philosophical instruction was logic. We must not, however, belittle the higher education of that day, at least not in Massachusetts, for a few brilliant intellects were trained there.

In the lower schools, education was indisputably a dull grind. Few schoolmasters and no schoolmistresses knew anything at all of the principles underlying mental development. That any children survived to live the intellectual life was due solely to the divine reason in human nature, by which all things, even wretched instruction, may be overcome.

Incompetence of Teachers

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—EDUCATION, 1607–1697

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

1619, Va.—Endowment of $7500 and 10,000 acres for a college at Henrico (Richmond) —Indian massacre of 1622 defeated the plan.
1621, Va.—School at Charles City.
1622.—Bishop of London raised $5000 toward a Va. university.
1633, N. Y. City—Dutch opened a school.
1635, Boston—"Free" (unsectarian) school.
1636, Mass.—First grant for Harvard.
1637, Mass.—A college is ordered to be built at "Newetowne."
1638, Mass.—Harvard opened.——N. J.—Sectarian schools.
1639, Conn.—School at New Haven.
1640, Mass.—Boston and Charlestown ferry given to Harvard.

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1642, Mass.—First Commencement at Harvard—Reading and labor ordered to be taught.
1645, Mass.—A law passed providing for public schools—Each family taxed a peck of corn, or 12 pence, for Harvard.
1647, Mass.—Each district of 50 families to support a public school—When 100 families, a grammar school.
1650.—Conn. duplicates the Mass. 1647 school law.
1651.—Mass. opens a school for Indian children.
1671, Va.—Gov. Berkeley wishes there may be no free school for 100 years.
1692.—Philadelphia high school established.——Va.—William and Mary College chartered.——Mass.—First D.D. of Harvard bestowed on its president, Increase Mather.
1694, Md.—Law passed establishing a "free" school.
1696, Md.—"Free" (unsectarian) schools opened.

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CHAPTER III

LITERATURE

LORD BACON said of literature, "It hath something divine in it, because it raises the mind and hurries it into sublimity, by conforming the show of things to the desires of the soul, instead of subjecting the soul to external things, as reason and history do." Of literature in this profoundly true psychological meaning, America in the seventeenth century must have produced more examples, at least in occasional passages, than have been preserved to us; but of literature, defined as the art of portraying life, America probably produced nothing. Literature there might have been, for life there was,—grand, intense, noble, picturesque. But the men with the seeing eyes and the power of words and delight in them were not here. Our forefathers came from the land of Spenser, of Shakspere, of Milton, and of Dryden, of Newton, of Boyle, of Locke, and of Temple; but in none of their formal writings do we see evidences of that mastery of knowledge, of philosophy, of the literary art, which was displayed by those glorious Englishmen. As Wendell, the historian of American literature, has well said, the colonials had all the "enthusiasm, spontaneity, and versatility" of

Literature in England

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the men of the mother country; but these great Elizabethan qualities they turned to theological discussions and to pioneer work, rather than to the production of comments upon life. The unfettered Puritans of New England and the free planters of Virginia were building commonwealths, and had no time or thought to write works of immortal literary art. Such is the reasonable explanation of the literary desolation of colonial America.

Early Writings

Of literary compositions, however, there were several worthy of notice in this narrative. Governor Bradford wrote a faithful and lucid *History of Plimouth Plantation*. Governor Winthrop wrote a similar *History of New England*, with many charming pictures of his own home-life. The *Diary* of Judge Sewall must not be forgotten. The curious and immortal *Bay Psalm Book*, of 1640, must be considered later at some length. In 1662, came Wigglesworth's frenzied *Day of Doom*. In 1689, Cotton Mather, of descent from the Mathers and Cottons, the greatest of the early divines of Massachusetts, issued his first important publication, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*. No other colonial author properly claims any attention herein save Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, who wrote verses. Edward Johnson may be mentioned as the author of the *Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Savior in New England*. Besides these, only the *New England Primer* is sufficiently famous to deserve notice. In all the colonial history of the seventeenth century, but two hundred titles claim space in even the extended literary history; and most of these

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publications were either the works of men who were scarcely more than travelers in America, like the *History of Virginia* by John Smith, or the brief essays that interest us solely as pictures of the times, like the *Indian Wars* of William Hubbard.

From some of these early literary efforts, we may cull a few selections.

William Bradford wrote of the parting from the other Separatists at Delft these words (transcribed in modern English):

"So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims and looked not much on those things but lift up their eyes to the heavens their dearest country and quieted their spirits."

At his death, 1657, these lines, written by him, were found:

In fear and wants, in weal and woe,
A pilgrim, passed I to and fro.

These were, perhaps, the best lines of seventeenth-century verse-composition in America.

In the writings of John Winthrop, there may be discovered no evidences of literary style, but many passages are certain to live a long time because of their historical interest. Under date of February 17, 1632/3, we may read, in the modest diary of the Massachusetts leader, the following significant narrative of local and general affairs:

"The governour and assistants called before them, at Boston, divers of Watertown; the pastor and elder by letter, and the others by warrant. The occasion was, for that a warrant

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being sent to Watertown for levying £8, part of a rate, of £60, ordered for the fortifying of the new town, the pastor and the elder, etc., assembled the people and delivered their opinions, that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage. Being come before the governour and council, after much debate, they acknowledged their fault, confessing freely, that they were in an error, and made a retraction and submission under their hands, and were enjoined to read it in the assembly the next Lord's day. The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and aldermen, who have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people; but understanding that this government was rather in the nature of a parliament, and that no assistant could be chosen but by the freemen, who had power likewise to remove the assistant and put in others, and therefore at every general court (which was to be held once every year) they had free liberty to consider and propound anything concerning the same, and to declare their grievances, without being subject to question, or, etc., they were fully satisfied; and so their submission was accepted, and their offence pardoned."

In the diaries of Judge Samuel Sewall, we find those passages regarding things public and important and things private and trivial, which are always of curious interest because they reflect the serio-comic drama of life. This worthy gentleman, however, outlasted the seventeenth century by so many years that we may well leave his literary efforts for further consideration in a succeeding volume of this history.

But the *Bay Psalm Book*, 1640, though its popularity did not wane for a hundred years to come, was so typically a product of the seventeenth-century colonial mind that we must deal with it

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here. From a literary point of view, perhaps, no other translation of any part of the Bible was ever so badly done as this work, edited by the three New England divines, Richard Mather, Thomas Welde, and John Eliot. An example of worse versification than the following would be hard to find:

> The Lord's song sing can wee? bring
> in stranger's land, then let
> loose her skill my right hand if I
> Jersusalem forget.

Some passages could scarcely avoid being eloquent and rhythmical. A single further illustration must suffice:

> The Earth Iehovahs is,
> and the fulnesse of it:
> The habitable world, & they
> that there upon doe sit.
>
> 2 Because upon the seas,
> he hath it firmly layd:
> and it upon the water-floods
> most sollidly hath stayd.
>
> 3 The mountaine of the Lord,
> who shall thereto ascend?
> and in his place of holynes,
> who is it that shall stand?
>
> 4 The cleane in hands, & pure
> in heart; to vanity
> who hath not lifted up his soule,
> not sworne deceitfully.

In the *Day of Doom*, 1662, by Michael Wigglesworth, we have perhaps the most prosaic, but most horrible, verse ever produced by the human mind.

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Yet it so fascinated the New England people that many of them knew most of it by heart, and its vogue continued, in certain quarters, for two hundred years. The *Day of Doom* reminds us of the English miracle-plays that preceded, though in no way caused, the magnificent Elizabethan drama. The following dialogue between condemned infants and the Lord God Most High illustrates the current New England theology and the versifier's skill, or lack of it:

Then to the Bar, all they drew near
  Who dy'd in infancy,
And never had or good or bad
  effected pers'nally.
But from the womb unto the tomb
  were straightway carried,
(Or at least e'er they transgrest)
  who thus began to plead:

If for our own transgression,
  or disobedience,
We here did stand at thy left hand
  just were the Recompence:
But Adam's guilt our souls hath spilt,
  his fault is charg'd on us:
And that alone hath overthrown,
  and utterly undone us.

Not we, but he ate of the Tree,
  whose fruit was interdicted:
Yet on us all of his sad Fall,
  the punishment 's inflicted.
How could we sin that had not been
  or how is his sin our
Without consent which to prevent,
  we never had a pow'r?

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To this pathetic argument of the children, the great God replies:

Am I alone of what 's my own,
no Master or no Lord?
Or if I am, how can you claim
what I to some afford?
Will you demand Grace at my hand,
and challenge what is mine?
Will you teach me whom to set free,
and thus my grace confine?

You sinners are, and such a share
as sinners may expect,
Such you shall have; for I do save
none but my own Elect.
Yet to compare your sin with their
who lived a longer time,
I do confess yours is much less,
though every sin 's a crime.

A Crime it is, therefore in bliss
you may not hope to dwell;
But unto you I shall allow
the easiest room in Hell.
The glorious King thus answering,
they cease and plead no longer:
Their Consciences must needs confess
his reasons are the stronger.

The first "lady singer" of New England was a daughter of Governor Dudley, and had secured all of her education in the mother country. The following is a very favorable example of her verse, than which none of her countrywomen of the middle seventeenth century over the sea were writing better:

I heard the merry grasshopper then sing,
The black-clad cricket bear a second part,

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They kept one tune, and played on the same string,
  Seeming to glory in their little art.
Shall creatures abject thus their voices raise?
And in their kind resound their Maker's praise:
Whilst I, as mute, can warble forth no higher lays.

When I behold the heavens as in their prime,
  And then the earth (though old) still clad in green,
The stones and trees, insensible of time,
  Nor age nor wrinkle on their front are seen;
If winter come, and greenness then do fade,
A Spring returns, and they more youthful made;
But man grows old, lies down, remains where once he 's laid.

By birth more noble than those creatures all,
  Yet seems by nature and by custom curs'd,
No sooner born, but grief and care makes fall
  That state obliterate he had at first:
Nor youth, nor strength, nor wisdom spring again,
Nor habitations long their name retain,
But in oblivion to the final day remain.

O Time, the fatal wrack of mortal things,
That draws oblivion's curtain over kings,
Their sumptuous monuments, men know them not,
Their names without a record are forgot,
Their parts, their ports, their pomp s all laid in th' dust,
Nor wit nor gold, nor buildings 'scape time's rust;
But he whose name is grav'd in the white stone
Shall last and shine when all of these are gone.

Mrs. Mary Dyer wrote perhaps the strongest piece of English that has come down to us from the seventeenth century. She was the wife of the Secretary of Rhode Island. In Boston, she was insistent upon the preaching of her Quaker doctrines. She was banished, but returned, and was condemned and executed. The following passages are quoted:

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"*To the General Court now in* Boston.

"WHEREAS *I am by many charged with the guiltinesse of my own Blood; if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose Will I came, who will require my Blood of you be sure; who have made a Law to take away the Lives of the Innocent Servants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you,* Cursed Quakers; *although I say, and am a living Witnesse for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you: therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my Counsel and Request be accepted with you, To repeal all such Laws, that the Truth and Servants of the Lord may have free passage among you, and you kept from shedding Innocent Blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it so to be: . . . Therefore, seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lyeth upon me, in love to your Souls, thus to perswade you: I have no self-ends, the Lord knoweth, for if my Life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, as long as I should daily hear or see the Sufferings of these People, my dear Brethren, and Seed, with whom my Life is bound up, as I have done these two years; and now it is like to encrease, even unto death, for no evil doing but coming among you: Was ever the like Laws heard of among a People that profess Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but such Laws, to fight against* Spiritual Wickedness *withall, as you call it! Wo is me for you? of whom take you Counsel? search with the Light of Christ in ye, and it will shew you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as you now are; which Light as you come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will repent, that you were kept from shedding Blood, though it were from a Woman: It's not mine own Life I seek,* (for I chuse rather to suffer with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Egypt) *but the Life of the Seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed; and therefore seeks the Enemy thus vehemently the Life thereof to destroy, as in all Ages he ever did: . . .*

"*And know this also, . . . That the Lord will overthrow both your Law and you, by his Righteous Judgements and*

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Plagues powred justly upon you, who now whilst you are Warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one by removing the other: If you neither hear nor obey the Lord nor his Servants, yet will he send more of his Servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, . . . The Lord of the Harvest will send forth more Labourers to gather (out of the mouths of the Devourers of all sorts) into his Fold, where he will lead them into fresh Pastures, even the paths of Righteousness, for his Names sake: Oh! let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the Light of the Lord I see approaching, even to many in and about Boston, *which is the bitterest and darkest Professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I have heard of; let the time past therefore suffice, for such a Profession as brings forth such Fruits as these Lawes are. In Love and in the Spirit of Meekness I again beseech you, for I have no Enmity to the Persons of any; but you shall know, That God will not be mocked, but what you sow, that shall ye reap from him, that will render every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil; Even so be it, saith Mary Dyar.*"

An age busy with such internal dissensions in matters involving life and death had little energy to spare for "art for art's sake." Evidently, the fear of death in no wise paralyzed the hand of this undoubtedly sane and right-minded Quaker lady, whom the course of history justified, to the perpetual shame and sorrow of Massachusetts.

Titles of Books

A few singular, though characteristic, titles of books and pamphlets remain to be noticed for other than literary reasons. In 1646, the Reverend John Cotton published his work entitled *Milk for the Spiritual Nourishment of Boston Babes in either England.* Thirty years later, the Reverend Roger Williams brought out a publication known as *George Fox digged out of his Burrows.* And, in 1691, that prolific author, Cotton

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Mather, published his *Heresies, Blasphemies and Delusions of Quakerism.*

Of literary productions in New York, nothing of any importance exists, unless we include such historical documents as the *Jesuit Relations* concerning affairs among the Iroquois, a few theological polemics, the reports of the governors, and various accounts of travelers. Of America generally, we can learn not a little in Hakluyt's *Voyages* and similar collections, in which the documents of Strachey regarding Virginia are, perhaps, as notable as any others.

When such productions as these issued from the literary workshops of America, what were the books that the people actually read? Elder Brewster had a library of several hundred books nearly all, of course, published in England. John Eliot, preacher and usher, brought over the sea twenty-three barrels full of books. Governor Winthrop had a thousand books. John Harvard, who added his seven hundred and fifty pounds to the public grant of two hundred pounds by Massachusetts to the college, gave also his library of three hundred and twenty volumes. George Sandys, the poet, when traveling in Virginia, translated Ovid into English verse. A very popular book was the *Practice of Piety directing a Christian how to walke that he may please God*, written by Bishop Bayly of England. Of similar popularity, was the *Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven wherein every man may clearly see whether he shall be saved or damned*, by Dent. There were, in the colonies, a few copies of the great books, such as the *Religio Medici* and the *Advancement of Learning*. Probably in all New England,

Libraries

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there was not a single copy of Shakspere, even in part. There were Latin folios and quartos, octavos upon medical "Physics," pamphlets upon all manner of subjects from sorcery to agriculture. Many libraries consisted entirely of manuscript copies of printed books, written in the beautiful seventeenth-century scrivener's hand.

Our Language

Folk-lore passed from tongue to ear in tavern and house. People from various parts of England, speaking mutually unintelligible dialects, inhabited neighboring farms; and in America the English language was being made broad and national rather than narrow and local. Many Indian words were necessarily added. Only the scholarship and the books of the cultured few saved America for an English tongue intelligible in London.

Historical Perspective.—Literature, 1607–1697

[Note.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

1608.—*The True Relation* (Smith)—Completed map of Chesapeake bay (Smith).
1610.—*The True Reportory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* (Strachey).
1613.—*Good News from Virginia* (Whitaker).
1614.—Map of New England coast (Smith).
1623.—*Nova Anglia* (Morell).
1624.—*General History of Virginia* (Smith).
1626.—*Translation of Ovid* (Sandys).
1630.—*The Golden Fleece* (Vaughn)—*A Model of Christian Charity* (John Winthrop).
1638.—First library in Mass. at Harvard College.
1639.—Printing permitted at Cambridge, Mass.—*An Almanac Calculated for New England* (Pierce, Mariner).
1640.—*The Bay State Psalm Book* (first book printed in the U. S.).
1641.—*The Body of Liberties* (Ward).
1643–4.—*A Key into the Language of America* (Williams)—*The Bloody Tenet* (Williams).
1647.—*The Simple Cobler of Agawaam* (Ward).
1650.—*The Poems of Anne Bradstreet and Benjamin Thompson.*
1652.—*Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health and their Preservatives* (Williams)—*Hireling Ministry and Bloody Tenet Yet more Bloody* (Williams).
1653.—A Catechism (Eliot).
1654.—The Mass. General Court ordered laws printed.
1659.—The Psalms in the Indian tongue.
1661.—The New Testament in the Indian language (Eliot).
1662.—*The Day of Doom* (Wigglesworth)—Mass. appointed two licensers of the press.

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1663.—Eliot's Indian Bible complete—First Bible printed in the U. S.—Its title was, *Wunnetupawatamwe UP-BIBULUM GOD Naneeswe Nukkone Testament Kah Wonk Wusku Testament.*

1664, Mass.—Prohibited printing, except at Cambridge.

1669.—*The New England Memorial* (Morton).

1672.—*Logic Primer* (Eliot)—Theophilus Gale presented Harvard College with a valuable library.——Mass. enacted a copyright law, first in the United States.

1674.—Printing permitted in Boston—Two additional licensers of the press appointed.

1677.—A Treatise on Small Pox and Measles (Thatcher).

1684.—The Gov. of Virginia suppresses a printing-press.

1685.—A second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible—Printing permitted in Philadelphia.

1688.—Printing forbidden in N. Y. by royal edict.

1689.—A *News Placard* printed in Boston—A tract against New Eng. churches and divines (Keith).

1690.—A newspaper, *Public Occurrences*, started in Boston—Suppressed after its first issue.

1693.—*The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Mather)—Printing permitted in N. Y.—A proclamation by the Gov. was the first sheet issued—Printer: Wm. Bradford, "The Father of Printing."

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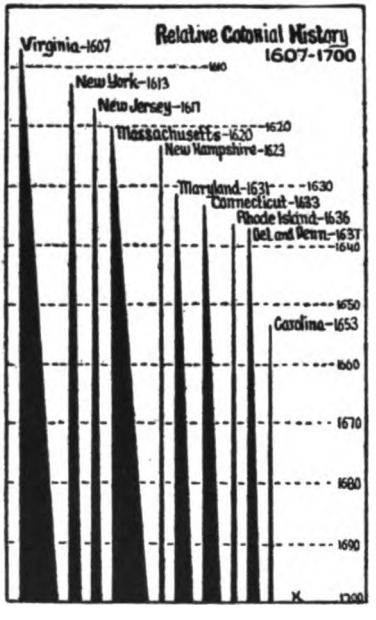
CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE

Signs of Civilization

Of all the colonies of the seventeenth century, Virginia, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts had the longest histories; and at its close, Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, and New York had the largest populations. By far the largest community was Boston, with seven thousand inhabitants; and the only other considerable communities were New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Not one of these populations formed what might properly be called a city. In 1697, the Common Council of New York ordered the streets to be lighted by lanterns suspended from poles stretched out from the windows of every seventh house. A night-watch was also established; this at public cost,



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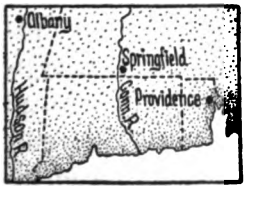
for the people were growing rich from honest and dishonest trade.

The character of the civilization of a people is seen most plainly in the number of the cities and towns, and in the character and extent of the highways. It is substantially revealed in the system of land-ownership. In these three respects, throughout the seventeenth century, the North differed greatly from the South. There were but very few towns or even villages south of Pennsylvania. The people generally lived upon separate and isolated plantations, and there were scarcely any hamlets. In Pennsylvania, and north of that colony, there were many small towns, villages, and hamlets; while in New England all the people lived in communities, doing all their farm work from the town as their place of residence. The South was rural, the North village. In the South, there were no roads between the plantations and what towns there were. All communication was by water. There were, of course, a few Indian trails for men and horses with saddles or packs. In the North, there were a few through roads between neighboring towns; but there was no through wagon-road connecting even the three cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, not to say such smaller places as Providence, Springfield, and Albany.



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The land-ownership systems differed greatly. In New England, land-tenure was communal; in Virginia, it was manorial. In New England each free person had his "home-lot right" and his "acre" right in the commons, undivided meadows, and forest lands. There were usually three commons, two in grain and one fallow as pasture for sheep and cows. Upon this basis, very nearly all of New England, New Jersey, and Delaware, was settled. Such, for a thousand years, had been the village-practice of old England. The towns employed swineherds, cowherds, goatherds, gooseherds, shepherds, water-bailiffs, chimney-sweeps, wood corders, fire and hedge wards. But there were no landlords, and there were no rents to pay. The various houses of the townspeople clustered about the meeting-house, for many considered "church" a "popish" word and feared to use it lest it lead to idolatry. Strangers desiring to move into a town must bargain with the "select men," who had charge of the "prudentialls." Most lines of trade were monopolies. The towns elected deputies to the General Court, and these deputies came to be the controlling power in New England legislation. Soon, the local town meetings came to be more important than the magistrates themselves. In consequence, the men to whom, in the early days, large grants of independent lands had been made, began to join the towns, realizing that it was greater to be a leader in a town than a lord in a wilderness.

New England

In the South, exactly the opposite development took place. Tobacco demanded cheap labor and cheap land. Men working in gangs were safer than

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isolated laborers. Towns disappeared, and plantations with white bond-servants and Negro slaves grew apace. In England, there were both commons and manors; usually the commons were held of the manorial lords. In New England, the independent farmer had no rights in the commons, and, being burdened with the same taxes as the townsman, was soon forced to join the community. In Virginia, for want of roads and with less of the centralizing zeal of the church, the independent farmer throve in his separate plantation. New England became socialized, commercial, democratic, and consolidated; Virginia became individualized and aristocratic. What the town meeting of all church members was to Massachusetts, that, in most respects, the vestry meeting of the parish officers was to Virginia, whereby the common man lost a very great opportunity of education through attendance upon, and participation in, public debates. In Virginia, the parish was often an entire county; in Massachusetts, town and parish, in area, were usually one.

Contrasting Systems

In New England and Pennsylvania, all lands were divided by giving to the eldest son a double share, and to all other sons and to the daughters share and share alike. This was democratic and tended to divide up the wealth accumulated by the thrifty man. Outside of New England and Pennsylvania, primogeniture prevailed, by which all lands went to the eldest son. To that, was often added entail, by which lands were not subject to personal debts. In New Hampshire, the homestead was left to the youngest son as payment for the care of parents in

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old age; this mild system of ultimogeniture still prevails in northern New York.

To the society of Virginia especially, but in a measure to other colonies also, great contributions were made by the "spirits," who kidnapped peasants, wanderers, children, and sold them for shipment oversea. This was, perhaps, better than hanging them by the tens of thousands, as Henry VIII. had done, but it tended to establish aristocracy solidly in the South. Apprentices, as well as bond-servants, were considered a species of property. In 1629, in Virginia, the Dutch traveler, De Vries, in an incident recorded by Eggleston, saw English men and women won and lost at cards,—a shameful spectacle, as he told the players, such as he had never "seen in Turk or Barbarian."

Bond-Servants

The great majority of all immigrants between 1620 and 1650 were bondmen. Winthrop of Massachusetts tells of three hundred servants set free by their masters for want of food to maintain them. After 1660, the emigration of bond-servants was renewed, but the term of service was generally reduced from ten years, more or less, to four. Husbands abandoned their wives, and wives their husbands; children ran away from home; and convicts "broke prison" in order to get to America and to begin life over again. In the New World, fearful punishments were visited upon offending bond-servants,—beatings, with brine rubbed into the bloody welts, sweatings, thumbscrews, starvation. The victims of the tyranny of masters sometimes fled to the wilderness, or to other colonies, and formed no inconsiderable

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part of the free populations of such towns as New York and Philadelphia. The city has always been the asylum of fugitives, the fortress of freedom. Such runaways manned the vessels of pirates and slavers. Since (for reasons discussed earlier in this narrative), there were always, among the Indians, less women than men, bond-women often fled to the wilderness to become the squaws of forest-lords.

Many a Latin grammar school graduate came to America as a redemptioner, and many a redemptioner rose to power and to wealth. One English State paper recites that a fond husband begged that his wife, condemned to death for stealing three-and-sixpence, be sold to any plantation rather than suffer that penalty. Let us hope and believe (for the chances were very favorable), that the wife came to America, and that her husband joined her here.

A Wretched Business

The selling of convicts, and the convicting of persons, guilty or innocent, that they might be sold for transport to America, formed a regular business. Even George Jeffreys, perhaps the worst of all judges in human history, denounced the horrid practice and tried to break it up. English Court ladies made money by taking shares of stock in the enterprise of selling the rebels who followed the cause of Duke Monmouth. Negro slavery could not seem evil in an age of such contempt for the rights of Englishmen. But few persons had that "concern for the souls of the blacks" which William Penn felt, and cared and dared to express. Boston and Newport shared in the foul profits of the Guinea slave-trade.

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Daily Life

In the preceding pages of this narrative, we have seen from what countries and from what classes of people came the early settlers of America. We have considered what were some of their most important political, religious, and legal customs and notions. We have dealt with their chief economic occupations. We have traced the causes and the courses of their migrations hither. We know, in part, what civilization they manifested and developed here during the seventeenth century. It remains to set forth briefly the manner of their daily life, of their "walk and conversation," in the old phrase.

The Historic Foundations

It is sometimes said that the men of three hundred years ago were nearer to primitive man than to us. To dispel this illusion, to correct the perspective of history, to place the people of the seventeenth century in their proper relations with the ancients and with the moderns, let us review briefly and categorically what man had done to make himself what he was at his best in the year of the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.

Not to go back to the creature of the drying-up sea, wherein it lived with both lungs and gills, but to take the creature of the trees, we may notice that anthropoid man learned with difficulty to walk upright and to swing a club in his hand wherewith to overcome other creatures having teeth or claws or talons. Next, man seems to have invented the spear and the bow and arrow, with which he overcame that great wild beast, the mastodon. He learned how to make fire, in order to keep warm in winter, and to cook food. And now he was able to

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move where he would, and had surplus nervous energy above digestion and the other demands of the physical life, and his mind grew fast. He delighted in articulate speech. Clan life and family life developed, caves were made into homes, and stone implements were fashioned for war, for the chase, for domestic uses. Speech began to include abstract terms. Art appeared in rude but truthful pictures. The human mind began to see the world and to think of its marvels. Strength had rights, because it could protect the weak, and chiefs were accepted as leaders. In union, there was yet greater strength. Memory grew clearer, and wealth was saved for the time of need. The imagination dwelt upon the causes of substance and of motion, and the vision of "gods" in things and in life came to man and made him know his soul. Copper and iron were found, and their uses learned by experiments unnumbered. Weak men were overwhelmed with the mystery of the world, and in Chaldea and in Egypt the multitude sank into fear of the divine man, the King, who knew the "gods." He was their son! The multitude, well-fed, protected from their enemies by the swords of the strong, being ruled and controlled in decent social order, increased and multiplied yet more. Strong men, betaking themselves to the mountains and plains of Europe, of Asia, of Africa, continued to be few in numbers, but became yet stronger by warfare against harsher Nature and each other. Glorious men appeared, teachers of the mystery,—Moses and Homer, whether each was one or but the type of many. The law of life appeared with its "Thou shalt not" and its "Thus saith the Lord."

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Language found symbols, and symbols became letters, signifying the sounds of articulate speech. Temples were reared to the gods, and great cities were built: Rome a stage above Tyre, and Tyre a stage above Nineveh. Thus, the millenniums had rolled on, grinding man to ever finer clay, producing Socrates, Phidias, and Æschylus. What sublime dreams visited man! There was Cæsar reconstituting Roman society, and teaching barbarian tribes the culture of all earlier time. And Jesus Christ appeared, to declare man the son of the one God, and all men brethren, and brethren the keepers of one another. In him flowered all the wisdom and all the loveliness of Greek scholarship and Egyptian morals. Then came the amazing theological development of the universal Christian Church, and a new and more wonderful art appeared with Angelo and Raphael. Man had now reached vast stature, by the power of ideas could rule an empire of many nations, and could peer into futurity. Dante had lived his fathomless life.

Man had solved contradictions and could sail a ship against the wind, and by the compass find a path where none was. He had invented the rolling wheel, the chimney, clothing, glass and mirrors, types, printing-press, gunpowder, astrolabe, shoes, candles, books, lamps, and maps. Galileo and Kepler and Newton revealed the universe. Shakspere displayed the human heart. Roman, French, Dutch, and English jurists taught the equal rights of man. Marriage was beginning to be what Jesus Christ taught, "They twain shall be one flesh." Holiness was often seen in its beauty.

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Upon foundations deep and broad, Smith, Bradford, Winthrop, Calvert, and Penn were building the commonwealth of America. In truth, the best men of the seventeenth century were in all essentials very near us. To what, then, is the illusion of remoteness due?

The Illusion of Remoteness

The seventeenth century in colonial America seems remote to us partly because we make the surprising and different new things of the present time far too prominent. The telegraph and the steam-engine are not all of life. Taming the horse and domesticating the cow and inventing the wheel were achievements not less great than making a ship of iron float or discovering electricity. The bedstead is as important a device for increasing the length of human life as is the steel-frame building; and the bedstead antedates Odysseus. The stairway is safer than the elevator; and the stairway antedates Sargon. Universal free schools are important; but the first temples of all the world were temples whose main use was that learning might be taught and acquired therein, seven days in the week, by all seekers after knowledge. We must free ourselves from many prepossessions in order to see clearly the relation of the colonials to the past and to ourselves.

Their apparent remoteness is chiefly due to a failure to realize how lightly the great masses of the people are touched by many of the strongest forces of civilization. When we contrast the social life of the early American colonials with the social life of to-day, we must not set the condition of the poor and of the enslaved of that time with that of the

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fortunate of these times. Nor are we justified in comparing village life then with metropolitan life now. Finally, let us understand that extrinsic features count for nothing in the history of man. Palaces and costumes did not make Elizabeth the great queen that she was. The pompous dignity of the elder Governor Dudley of Massachusetts helped him no whit in comparison with modest Roger Williams: the immortality of the one is accidental, that of the other inevitable. The modern note is common to all great men: real humanity knows little of the individual age and of the flight of time.

The Colonial Home

In all parts of colonial America, South and North, the home was the center of social life. The waking hours of the day were from sunrise to sunset, the sleeping from sunset to sunrise. Artificial light was expensive. In each colony, the number of those who were able to display the evidences of wealth was constantly growing; and the popular notion of these times, that the Puritan of large means was as plain of dress as the Quaker, is entirely false, for, on the contrary, he was apt to be as fastidious and elegant as the Cavalier. Dress and equipage and furniture were the outward signs of power. Men of ability cared more for the show of things and the vanities of life then than now, partly because the important class distinctions were thereby made plain, and partly because, despite all the enthusiasms even of the North, the intellectual and the moral life was not yet sufficiently regenerate and strong to overcome the old traditions accepted by rich and poor alike.

A Puritan household of wealth was a very different

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organization from that of the Cavalier. In Massachusetts, the rich and fashionable merchant of the town dealt in ships, fish, lumber, molasses, and was an importer and exporter in the trade at sea. His wealth was in goods. In his household, there were indentured servants, of both sexes, and usually young, working out their time. Such regular wage-employees as he required in his business and in his home generally ate at the same table as his own family, and had quarters in his house. Undoubtedly, the women of his own family did much of the more important household work, which in that age included not only every kind of cookery and the care of linen, woolens, and furniture, but the manufacture of many articles, from carpets and cloth to harness and shoes. Even in the towns, the division of industry was incomplete; at best, the shoemaker came to the house and made shoes there; at worst, a servant or the master himself constructed such things as footwear and headgear. Now the results of this household activity were that all the members of the family were brought together in constant, though by no means equal, association, and that almost no persons, save the ministers, had any time for leisure and for the culture that is impossible without leisure. Indeed, many ministers were farmers also, and busy a large part of the time with agriculture and the care of domestic animals.

The typical Northern society saw a certain division of labor and of interests, for in the towns, while all had farms, one person had the grist-mill, another the store, another was skilful in the manufacture of furniture, and another was carpenter or blacksmith.

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There was often barter of articles and of services, when money of exchange was wanting. The North presented the beginnings of complex modern life.

In the wealthy Southern household, were combined all the activities of the Northern household and town. Life was essentially more primitive, more patriarchal. Upon the plantation, everything used by any and all either was made or was bought in exchange for tobacco. The planter and his overseers distributed all the necessaries of daily living. There was but little hired labor, for most of the service was rendered by bondmen. There was not a little social gayety, for the Virginians were not worried over the affairs of the life beyond.

The Structure

Everywhere, the first settlers began in very simple shelters for homes,—dwelling in caves, tents, dugouts, shacks. Soon, they built log-houses. Even as late as 1645, in Massachusetts, caves were occupied by respectable and fairly well-to-do families. In Pennsylvania, caves and dugouts were occupied as late as 1685. Earth-and-sod houses existed in Massachusetts until 1750. In 1626, twenty-nine of the thirty buildings at New Amsterdam were bark wigwams. (In 1815, Abraham Lincoln as a boy lived in a "half-faced camp," that is, a building with one side open to the weather.) The colonial log cabin, with square corner-posts and with logs "chinked" in with hedges of wood and then bedaubed with clay, and with a generous stone-and-mud chimney, was by no means an unendurable dwelling. Many families in America are living yet in one and two room log cabins, which are indeed

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as comfortable, though not so picturesque, as English thatched cottages and Swiss chalets. Naturally, the settlers built here houses as nearly like those to which they had been accustomed in their mother country as their materials and means, their time and skill permitted. As the colonial wealth increased, many a log house was covered with clapboards, rough-hewn by the adze. New Amsterdam early had buildings of colored brick; most of the materials were imported from Holland. Because of the costliness of iron, few nails or none were used in house-construction. Persons who abandoned their houses sometimes burned them to the ground to get the nails. Virginia forbade this, and offered to give to every one who did not burn his house down, when leaving it, as many nails as it contained. All outside doors, from Pemaquid to Charleston, were opened and shut by latches. A Virginia plantation, by the very end of the century, might have a framed house, well-clapboarded, with chimneys at either end, a kitchen outside, cabins for overseer and for white and black bond-servants, stable, barns, coach-house, poultry-houses, smoke-house, dove-cote, and milk-dairy. Besides these, there were bird-houses and beehives. Here and there, were an ice-house and a brew-house, a tool-shed, a cider-mill, and a spinning-house. Before 1700, Philadelphia had its houses of brick or stone, with stoops before the front door.

The Civilization

As early as 1650 Boston had a fire-engine, and by 1670, chimneys of wood or of platted reed and clay had given place throughout Massachusetts to stone and brick. Sand or hard-packed clay was the usual floor surface.

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Oiled paper served for glass, in the early days. Paint, inside or out, was practically unknown in rural New England. The fine Province House in Boston dated from 1679. With such interesting and significant facts as these, the narrative might run on for a hundred pages, without thereby materially altering the great and substantial truths: that men, with and without families, found themselves here usually in completely altered conditions from those to which they had been accustomed,—that the wealthy were usually worse circumstanced, but the poor better circumstanced than in their old home-countries; that all, while reproducing essentially what they had known before, were working for improved material political, religious, and social conditions; that the Americanization of these Europeans began with the first settlers, whose ideas, customs, habits, traditions, manners were hard to change, and proceeded rapidly with their descendants, the first generation of the native-born; and that work, with but little enjoyment, characterized the lives of all colonials of the seventeenth century. What pleasures they had, centered chiefly about the village taverns. A house-raising was a time of social gladness. Sunday, "the Sabbath," in New England, was a day of intellectual activity and emotional development; but in the South, a day of worship, rest, and relaxation. There were occasional feasts; but "treats" were so rare that the portly, cheerful, optimistic Judge Sewall of Boston wrote, in his diary, of a visit to the family tomb as a "treat."

On the whole, our forefathers, whether "free," "unfree," or "bond," deserve all praise for their

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grim, resolute courage and contentment in the great, strange, mysterious, inviting, compelling New World. They were building, as it were, the deep foundation walls of a vast structure. Their horizons were very limited; but they could see the stars in the broad daytime, the stars of certain hitherto generally neglected eternal truths. They were renewing, converting, remaking human character. In America, man was preparing himself to do what the Dutch Republic, for want of sufficient territory and isolation from the rest of Europe, could not do; nor could France do it, for want of sufficiently varied racial stocks and of the proper proportions of institutional ideas and forces; nor could England, for want of the right ideals, at the opportune time. No European country, save Switzerland, was destined to undertake the experiment of realizing the dream of the sages, prophets, poets, and seers of the untold centuries of the past, of men equal, before the law and by custom, with all other men, in religion, in government, in society.

Preparation for Democracy

The seventeenth century mode of the preparation of a nation for democracy, upon the continental scale in America, was essentially a new baptism of man in the river of life, as it ran in a world that fronted the dawn and the sunrise.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—SOCIAL LIFE, 1607–1697

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

1607, Va.—Forty-eight "gentlemen," 10 or 12 mechanics, 10 laborers, and no women, therefore no thought of home-making—Communism of production, therefore no incentive to thrifty, honorable ambition—Suspicious quarrels and deceptions prevail—Capt. Smith saved by Pocahontas.

1608, Va.—Conspiracy to kill Capt. Smith—Smith's laws: "He that would not work should not eat." "Each man for six days in the week should work six hours each day"—Thirty-eight more "gentlemen" and several speculators and vagabonds arrive.

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1609, Va.—Crime and laziness bring dire distress—Out of 490 only 60 are left—Fresh supplies, new colonists, and orderly work bring relief.

1613, Va.—Pocahontas stolen and held for ransom.

1614, Va.—Argall's raids on French and Dutch settlements—Capt. Hunt's treachery, to sell Indians for slaves—Pocahontas married to John Rolfe.

1616, Eng.—Pocahontas received at Court.

1619, Va.—Profligacy restrained by law—Twelve hundred new colonists, including 100 felons, to be sold as slaves—19 (or 14?) Negroes bought at auction.

1620, Mass.—Plymouth colony: 34 men, 18 women, 20 boys, 8 girls, 3 maid-servants, and 19 men-servants—All the incentives to orderly home life, except home ownership—That came in 1623–24.

1620–21, Va.—150 young women added to the colony—Marriage institutes home life—The division of land provides the basis of steadfast purpose—Better conditions prevail in spite of the disturbing tobacco craze.

1621, Mass.—Half of the Pilgrims die the first winter—New colonists bring scant supplies—Half-rations for six months—First marriage: Edward Winslow and Susannah White—A duel fought by servants—Massasoit received with much parade.——Va.—Massacre prevented by a converted Indian.

1622, Mass.—Weymouth settlers defraud Indians and trouble follows.——Va.—One third of the settlers massacred by the Indians—72 settlements destroyed.

1625, N. Y.—The first white child born (Brooklyn)—At this date (the close of the first quarter of the 17th century) most colonial homes depended upon Europe for all furnishings except as individual ingenuity supplemented by a scarcity of tools devised crude home-made benches, chairs, tables, shelves, etc.—Corn was pounded into "samp," "hominy," and meal by home-made pestles, and yet much "meal" was brought across the sea from European mills—Tailors and cobblers traveled from home to home to mend and to make clothing.

1626, N. Y.—Negro slavery introduced.

1629, Eng.—The London proprietors of the Mass. colony earnestly advise against permitting excessive use of "strong water," especially among Indians.

1630, New Eng.—About 300 Puritan families of the best sort arrived,—not adventurers, or thriftless, or criminals, but excellent men, women, and children.

1633.—At the close of this first third of the 17th century, the homes of most settlers were log houses with oiled-paper window-panes—Stone fireplaces with wooden chimneys—No stoves—Many roofs were straw-thatched—Fires were frequent—Wampum was money, and taxes were paid in grain, tobacco, and cattle—Indian troubles were of frequent occurrence, in most of the colonies, and were constant themes of disturbing interest during the rest of the century.

1634, Mass.—The first women's reform movement in the U. S. organised by Mrs. Hutchinson.

1637, Mass.—Negro slavery already begun.

1643, Va.—Puritans are unwelcome settlers.

1645, N. Y.—Thanksgiving day (September 6), "Close of Indian troubles."

1646, Eng.—The first move to hamper colonial enterprise awakened a storm.

1650.—The middle of the century witnessed very general and persistent activity against intemperate liquor-drinking—Spinning-wheels hummed in most New Eng. homes—Looms wove in some of them and wives and daughters cut and made nearly all the family clothing, while children learned to card and comb and knit. In southern colonies, however, nearly everything was brought from Europe.

1655, Md.—Protestants and Catholics were in bloody conflict.

1656, New Eng.—Quakers were persecuted.

1660, Boston.—Two of the judges who condemned Chas. I. were welcomed and hidden.

1662, Conn.—"Witchcraft" made many homes wretched. Three women were condemned and one hanged.

1664, Va.—The General Assembly rebuked the clergy for drinking, idleness, and riotous living.

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1670, Va. and Md.—Importation of criminals was prohibited.——Mass.—Drunkards' names were posted.——N. Y. City—Merchants met every Friday noon on the canal bridge at Broad St. for gossip and barter.——Va.—Non-Christian servants imported became slaves.

1671, Carolina.—Slavery introduced.——Md.—Slavery encouraged.——Boston.—Great training days: 1200 men in the military force.

1675, Mass.—Strange superstitious persecution of Christian Indians.

1677, New Eng.—A postal system adopted.

1679, Boston.—46 dwellings, a church, and other buildings burned.

1680, Carolina.—Profligate "ill-livers" vex moral colonists.

1681, Pa.—Penn's gov't ignored differences of color, race, and religion, putting all colonists on equality. He wrote to Swedes to keep their own homes, make their own laws, and fear no oppression.

1683, Pa.—Three peacemakers were appointed for each county to prevent law-suits.

1684–88.—Darkest years in Mass. (tyrannical burden).

1692, Mass.—Salem "witchcraft" wrecked many homes and resulted in the death, persecution, and imprisonment of hundreds of innocent persons.——N. Y.—The pillory, whipping-post, and ducking-stool came into use.

1697, N. Y. City.—Streets were first lighted: A lantern on a pole at each 7th house—Night watchman also first appointed.

At the closing of the century in many homes, the pounding of the corn-pestle had ceased, for many grist-mills, by wind, by water, and by horse-power were grinding home-grown grain for bread. Log houses were slowly changing to frame, for many saw-mills on forest streams were cutting native trees into good straight boards. Wooden chimneys were giving place to brick, and even whole houses were built from kilns. Cooking was still done at the open fireplace, for cooking-stoves were yet a hundred years away. Much of their iron and most of their leather was made in colonial factories. The wives and daughters were still spinning and weaving in New Eng. homes, leaving them little time or wish for idle gossip or fashionable follies.

In spite of royal hindrances, their feet were already firmly treading the path to industrial liberty, political liberty, and a better civilisation.

Famous Men of the Times

1466–1506.—Columbus.
1452–1512.—Americus Vespucius.
1467–1536.—Erasmus.
1469–1527.—Machiavelli.
1473–1543.—Copernicus.
1475–1564.—Michael Angelo.
1477–1576.—Titian.
1478–1535.—Thomas More.
1483–1520.—Raphael.
1483–1546.—Luther.
1487–1531.—Andrea del Sarto.
1491–1556.—Loyola.
1497–1560.—Melancthon.
1498–1559.—Holbein.
1506–1552.—Xavier.
1509–1564.—Calvin.
1510–1590.—Palissy.
1512–1594.—Tintoretto.
1528–1588.—Kronese.
1533–1592.—Montaigne.
1546–1601.—Tycho Brahe.
1547–1616.—Cervantes.
1547–1619.—Barneveld.
1552–1599.—Spenser.
1552–1634.—Coke.
1561–1626.—Francis Bacon.
1564–1642.—Galileo.
1564–1616.—Shakspere.
1571–1630.—Kepler.
1577–1640.—Rubens.
1579–1631.—John Smith.
1585–1642.—Richelieu.
1586–1647.—Thomas Hooker.
1592–1666.—Shah Jehan.
1600–1684.—Roger Williams.
1606–1669.—Rembrandt.
1606–1684.—Corneille.
1618–1682.—Murillo.
1621–1698.—Frontenac.
1628–1683.—Bunyan.
1628–1688.—Milton.
1631–1700.—Dryden.
1642–1727.—Newton.
1643–1687.—La Salle.
1644–1718.—Penn.

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Important Rulers in Europe

England	*Spain*	*France*	*Others*
Henry VII., 1485–1509.	Ferdinand, 1479–1516, and Isabella, 1474–1504.	Louis XII., 1498–1515.	The Medici, 1400–1600. (Florence.)
			Pope Julius II., 1503–1513.
Henry VIII., 1509–1547.	Joanna, 1504–1555, and Charles I., 1516–1556. (*Emperor Charles V.*)	Francis I., 1515–1547.	Solyman I., 1520–1566. (Turkey.)
Edward VI., 1547–1553.		Henry II., 1547–1559.	Gustavus I., Vasa, 1523–1560. (Sweden.)
Mary, 1553–1558.	Philip II., 1556–1598.	Francis II., 1559–1560. (m. Mary *Queen of Scots.*)	William I., 1558–1584. (*The Silent*) (Netherlands.)
Elizabeth, 1558–1603.		Charles IX., 1560–1574.	Rudolph II., 1576–1612. (Germany.)
		Henry III., 1574–1589.	Pope Gregory XIII., 1572–1585
James I., 1603–1625.	Philip III., 1598–1621	Henry IV., 1589–1610. (*of Navarre.*)	Pope Sextus V., 1585–1590.
			Pope Paul V., 1605–1621.
	Philip IV., 1621–1665.	Louis XIII., 1610–1643.	Gustavus II., Adolphus, 1611–1632. (Sweden.)
Charles I., 1625–1649.			Michael Romanoff, 1613–1645. (Russia.)
Cromwell, 1653–1658.			Ferdinand II., 1619–1637. (Germany.)
Charles II., 1660–1685.	Charles II., 1665–1700.	Louis XIV., 1643–1715. (*le Grand.*)	Ferdinand III., 1637–1657. (Germany.)
James II., 1685–1688.			John III., Sobieski, 1674–1696. (Poland.)
William, 1689–1702, and Mary, 1689–1694.			Peter I., 1689–1725 (*The Great.*)

Important Events in the Old World

1506.—St. Peter's is begun at Rome.
1510.—Portugal occupies Goa, India.
1516.—More publishes the *Utopia.*
1517.—Luther posts the *Ninety-five Theses* at Wittenberg.
1521.—Diet of Worms: Belgrade is taken by the Turks.
1525.—End of the Peasants' Revolt in Germany.
1526.—Beginnings of Mongol power in India.
1527.—Bourbon, with Spanish and German soldiers, sacks Rome.
1529.—Turks are repulsed at Vienna—Peace between Francis I. and Charles V.—Protestants first so called.
1533.—Marriage between Henry VIII. of England and Catherine of Aragon is annulled.
1534.—Act of Supremacy.
1542.—Calvin supreme at Geneva.
1546.—Massacre of Waldenses.
1549.—Xavier goes to Japan.
1553.—Peace of Augsburg establishes religious independence of German provinces.
1555–6.—Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer are burned at the stake.
1558.—England loses Calais.
1559.—Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity.

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1562.—Beginning of the Huguenot wars.
1563.—Close of the Council of Trent, begun in 1545.
1566.—Crim Tatars sack Moscow.
1568.—Inquisition condemns to death all Netherlanders.
1571.—At Lepanto Turks are defeated by Spanish, Italians, and Austrians.
1572.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.
1579.—Union of Utrecht.
1581.—Dutch Declaration of Independence.
1584.—Prince of Orange is assassinated by Spanish emissary, Raveillac.
1587.—Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
1588.—Destruction of Spanish Armada.
1597.—Earliest publication of plays of William Shakspere.
1598.—Edict of Nantes.
1601.—First English Poor Law.
1609.—Founding of the Bank of Amsterdam—Galileo invents telescope and discovers the moons of Jupiter.
1610.—Chapman translates the *Iliad*.
1611.—King James's version of the Bible.
1614.—Last Meeting of the States-General of France before Revolution.
1618.—Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.
1619.—Synod of Dort, followed by execution of Barneveld.
1620.—Bacon publishes the *Novum Organum*.
1622.—*The Weekly News* is printed, first newspaper in England.
1628.—Petition of Right.
1630.—Harvey announces discovery of the circulation of the blood.
1631–2.—Gustavus Adolphus wins victories at Leipsig and Lützen.
1640.—End of the *Sixty Years' Servitude* of Portugal to Spain.
1641.—Execution of Strafford.
1642.—English Civil War begins at Edgehill.
1643.—Present dynasty (Manchu) is founded in China.
1648.—Spain formally acknowledges Dutch independence.
1649.—Charles I. is executed—Cromwell in Ireland.
1660.—End of the Puritan Commonwealth and the Restoration.
1664.—Turks are defeated at St. Gothard by French and Austrians.
1665.—Great Plague in London.
1667.—Milton publishes *Paradise Lost*.
1668.—Bunyan publishes part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.
1679.—Habeas Corpus Act.
1680.—Whig and Tory parties first named in England.
1682.—Turks are defeated at Vienna by John Sobieski of Poland.
1683.—Penny post is established at London.
1685.—Revocation of Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.
1687.—Parthenon at Athens is partially destroyed by Venetians—Newton publishes the *Principia*.
1689.—Bill of Rights.
1690.—Grand Alliance against Louis XIV.
1692.—Battle of La Hague.
1694.—Founding of the Bank of England.
1697.—Treaty of Ryswick.

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NOTE: AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN HISTORY

In the succeeding volumes, it is the purpose of the editorial author to present a final chapter dealing with those aspects of European history which essentially concern the progress of events in America. In this volume, has been recounted the migration oversea of the fundamental peoples by whose characters and ideas was mainly determined the course of all our subsequent history. The point of view herein has been primarily European. In various passages of the foregoing narrative, the chief features of the history of the nations of Europe have been set forth so far as they were related to American affairs. The measure of space, as provided in the plan of this work, and the very substance of the narrative itself, seem to determine for the present volume the omission of that summary of contemporaneous European history which is to be presented in later divisions of the work. The period between the years 1607 and 1697 saw the differentiation and separation of more than a hundred thousand people from the stocks resident in Europe; and, thereafter, the Americans must be recognized as occupying almost the entire stage of action, with the Europeans as little more than spectators.

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REFERENCES AND NOTES

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

1. Page 4, line 17. For a discussion as to the effects of solidarity upon a people, see Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, translated by Moore. Publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Its chief theme is the process of society from homogeneity to heterogeneity, and from heterogeneity back to homogeneity. See also page 16 in this text.
2. Line 24. The great services of Charles to Christendom by his campaigns against the Turks were performed by him rather as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire than as King of Spain.
3. Page 5, line 29. Peters, *The Jew as a Patriot.*
4. Page 6, line 33. What the light really was, no man knows. Most ingenious discussions, both historical and scientific, have appeared in print. The view in the text is that commonly accepted. See 8, 9, 10.
5. Page 11, line 1. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient.* Also translation by McClure, edited by Sayce, under title *Egypt.*
6. Page 14, line 6. The long, thin face, high cheek-bones, aquiline nose, light gray eyes, fair and ruddy complexion, all go to show that Columbus was by no means of the pure Mediterranean (Latin) stock. See 8, 12.
7. Page 16, line 30. Though, in the course of a single voyage, Magellan did not circumnavigate the earth, he was the first circumnavigator, for in an earlier voyage, traveling eastward, he had reached the longitude of the Philippines. His Portuguese name was Magalhães. See *Publisher's Announcement.*

AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

8. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History.* This monumental work is especially valuable for its notes, which usually present all phases of opinion.
9. Irving, *Columbus.*

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10. Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries.* Valuable and interesting sources.
11. Tyler, *The Whence and the Whither of Man.*
12. Ripley, *The Races of Europe.*
13. Myers, *The Modern Age.*
14. Symonds, *The Italian Renaissance.*
15. Thacher, *Life of Columbus.*
16. Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions.*
17. *Universal Cyclopedia.*
18. Fiske, *Age of the Discovery of America.*
19. Yule, *Marco Polo's Travels.*
20. Johnson, *Pioneer Spaniards in America.*
21. Dellenbaugh, *The Colorado River.*

CHAPTER II

22. Page 30, line 16. According to the best evidence, such was the view of Columbus at the time of his death.
23. Page 34, line 2. Acton, *The Study of History.*
24. Page 35, line 18. The argument commonly advanced in the sixteenth century was the same in substance as the justification commonly presented in the twentieth century. In the early period of the "modern age," nationalities were being established. To maintain their independence, all nations must be patriotic. In the preceding age, the Church had been stronger than the State. The primary idea of the Roman ecclesiastical dominion was that good Catholics owed allegiance to the Pope before any King. See 31. With Dante, the upholder of the political power of the Emperor, nationality began to be the moving cause of modern history, whose central idea it is. Between ecclesiastical Rome and modern Europe, Spain held the middle ground, enforcing both nationalism and Catholic orthodoxy, grinding her people to powder between these upper and nether millstones.
25. Page 35, line 33. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Consider this saying in the light of the parable of the sower, as taught by Jesus Christ. If the Albigenses had not been persecuted to utter annihilation, France might have had a very different religious history. See 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.
26. Page 41, line 8. The Escorial contains the royal palace, a monastery, a church, an art museum, a library, and a mausoleum, and was built by Philip to symbolize the grandeur and the piety of Spain. It is an instructive monument to human pride. Even in an age of electricity and steam, Madrid would be doomed, from many geographical causes, to failure as a world capital.

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OTHER GENERAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

27. Harisse, *Christophe Colombe.*
28. *Raccolta di documenti e studi.* Rome, 1894. This collection was made in connection with the Columbian tercentennial anniversary of the discovery of America.
29. Champlain, *Voyages.*
30. Lea, *Expulsion of the Moriscoes.*
31. Milman, *Latin Christianity.*
32. Llorente, *History of the Inquisition.*
33. Rule, *History of the Inquisition.*
34. Lea, *History of the Inquisition.*
35. Fisher, *History of the Christian Church.*
36. Hatüsser, *History of the Reformation.*
37. } Parkman, *Pioneers of New France.*
38. }
39. *Cambridge Modern History.* Also: **8**, **13**, **15**, **18**, **20**, above.

CHAPTER III

40. Page 40, line 22. For an account of a French (perhaps a Norman-French) family of Cabots upon the island of Jersey (a British possession) see Henry Cabot Lodge, *Life of George Cabot.*
41. Page 41, line 30. This tradition is often exploited in popular histories. See *Bulletins*, 1875–78, *America before Columbus*, Boston Public Library. Also see **8**.
42. Page 45, line 1. In this text, New Spain, unless otherwise defined, is used to indicate not the specific province (now Mexico, etc.), but all the territory of Spain in the New World. It thus corresponds with New France.
43. Page 49, line 28. So defective were the means then used for determining longitude that, for a century after the voyage of Drake, men continued to believe that he had sojourned at a point upon the Pacific coast but a few score miles west from the Atlantic coast of North America. The location was probably San Francisco bay. See **8**.
44. Page 51, line 10. Individuals of the Mediterranean and the Teutonic races have typically long, narrow heads. See **12**. See **1**, *per contra*, as to racial origins and similarities. In his latest publications, Italy, 1900–1903, Sergi holds that the Negro race originated from the Mediterranean by migration southward, across the old land bridges from Europe to Africa, at the same time that the Teutonic race was being developed by migration northward.
45. Page 56, line 8. In a sense, the ancient Oriental monarchs represented such an apotheosis of the individual. The idea was revived by Rome. But the true apotheosis occurred in ancient Scandinavia, where every head of family was his own lord.

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46. Page 61. The discussion in the text is too brief to permit the development of the chief point of historical interest, which is, that the plans of Raleigh for colonization were wiser and more practical than those of any later colonizer until the period of the Puritan migration, 1628–29–30. He was a man far in advance of his times. Raleigh usually spelled his name Ralegh. See *Publisher's Announcement.*

OTHER GENERAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

47. Hakluyt, *Voyages;* and *Principal Navigations.*
48. Terry, *History of England.*
49. Tacitus, *Germania.*
50. Holm, *History of Greece.*
51. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age.*
52. Green, *Short History of the English People.*
53. Taine, *History of English Literature;* translated by Van Lauw.
54. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in America.*
55. Hart, *Source Readers in American History.*
56. Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation.*
57. Larned, *History for Ready Reference.*
58. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology.*
59. Lavisse, *Political History of Europe.*
60. *Encyclopedia of United States History.*
61. Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship.*
62. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors.*
63. Edwards, *Life of Raleigh.*
64. Brinton, *The American Race.*
65. Vignand, *Columbus and Toscanelli,*—an attack upon many hitherto accepted opinions, suggestive but not always convincing.
66. Smith, *The Thirteen Colonies.*
67. Webster, *General History of Commerce.*
68. Seeley, *Introduction to Political Science.*
69. *American Historical Review,* publication of the American Historical Association.
70. *Encyclopædia Britannica;* ninth and tenth combined editions (Black).
71. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic.*
72. *Century Cyclopedia of Proper Names.*
73. Holmes, *The Common Law.*
74. Cooke, *Virginia.* Also: 8, 10, 18, 39.

CHAPTER IV

75. Page 73, line 29. The term Amerind has been much discussed by the ethnologists, some of whom desire to use it as a means

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of distinguishing, by a single term, the American from the Asian Indians. It is used occasionally in this text, and is, on the whole, commendable. See **98.**

76. Page 78, line 30. In the Teutons, one sees the effects upon the human race of outdoor life on sea and shore at the sea-level in a cold climate without excessive extremes; in the Amerinds, one sees the effects of outdoor life, in the hills and mountains, of a climate excessively cold in winter and very warm in summer. In both races, the spirit of individualism was very strong, in marked contrast with the Mongolians.

77. Page 79, line 16. Kent, settled by the fierce Jutes, has been the home of personal liberty in England.

78. Page 81, line 15. There was both public and private war, tribal and personal. An Indian could forgive a personal enemy, but could never forgive a tribal enemy.

79. Page 82, line 5. This fact was apparently well known half a century ago, and was commonly stated in the text-books published before the Civil War. See **60.** See also Gilman, *History of the American People.*

80. Line 13. By others, Iroquois is said to mean the "tobacco-smokers." See **60.**

81. Page 84, line 17. One who is curious to follow the zigzag progress, the upward spiral, of history, and to do so in a tolerant spirit, finds help in Emerson's argument in *Compensation* and in Ruskin's discussions of *War* and *Peace.*

GENERAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

82. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America.*
83. Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race.*
84. West, *Ancient History.*
85. Chancellor, *American History,* text-book references.
86. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois.*
87. Thomas, *Problem of the Ohio Mounds.*
88. Thorpe, *History of the American People.*
89. Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor.*
90. Spears-Clark, *History of the Mississippi Valley.*
91. Thwaites-Hart-Wilson, *Epochs of American History.*
92. Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization.*
93. Schoolcraft, *Reports to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.*
94. Powell, *Reports of Bureau of Ethnology,* Smithsonian Institution.
95. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?*
96. Doyle, *The English Colonies.*
97. Brinton (et al.) *Culture Status of the American Indian,* 1492. These papers discuss various aspects of the Indian questions.
98. Dellenbaugh, *The North Americans of Yesterday.*
99. Thomas, *Introduction to North American Archæology.*

Also: **8, 12, 55, 56, 57, 60, 64, 69, 256, 257.**

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CHAPTER V

100. Page 102, line 2. Elaborate discussions of the comparative value of money in different periods abound in economic history. In truth, money, from century to century, has been incommensurate. To illustrate: Owing to estates in fee-tail in England four centuries ago, land was almost non-purchasable. In the time of Raleigh, a horse was in some ways more useful but in others less useful than now. The relations of life were different, and its proportions varied correspondingly. The estimate in the text is based on the hypothesis that a given weight of silver coin bought, several centuries ago, about five times as much food and clothing as now, and about ten times as much of the luxuries of that period as it buys of modern luxuries. The hypothesis is debatable. What is not debatable is the fact that in 1580–1600 in England a man with forty thousand pounds was at least as important as the Englishman of to-day with three or four hundred thousand pounds or the American with a million and a half or two million dollars.

101. Page 104, line 27; also page 108, line 22. "No man is a hero to his valet." Both in actual achievement and in reputation Smith suffered greatly from his associates. In action, he was hampered by their incompetency, and in report he was belittled by their envy. He was a combination of Sidney without his grace and of Raleigh without his statesmanship.

GENERAL AUTHORITIES

102. Corbett, *The Successors of Drake.*
103. Macy, *The English Constitution.*
104. Bancroft, *History of the United States.*
105. Hildreth, *History of the United States.*
106. Fiske, *Beginnings of New England.*
Also: **8, 10, 55, 56, 57, 60, 62, 66, 69, 74, 85, 88, 91, 92, 96.**

CHAPTER VI

107. Page 124, line 20. The term Negro is capitalized in this narrative to indicate a race that is as distinct and as recognizable as the Berber, the Iberian, or the Semite.

GENERAL AUTHORITIES

108. Brigham, *Geographical Influences in American History.*
109. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America.*
Also: **8, 10, 16, 39, 55, 56, 62, 66, 69, 74, 85, 88, 92, 96, 100, 104, 105.**

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CHAPTER VII

110. Page 136, line 8. William of Orange was called "the Silent" because of a single event in his early life. When a hostage at the Court of France, he was riding one day with King Henry II., who had recently concluded a secret treaty with Philip II. of Spain. Supposing that William knew most of the facts, Henry discussed the treaty with him. The Prince of Orange listened eagerly but silently; then, as soon as possible, he reported the treaty (which concerned heresy) to his friends and subjects in the Netherlands. The great prince was generally not at all "silent" but very affable. His public speeches were eloquent. See **13**. The character of our own George Washington greatly resembled that of William of Orange.

111. Page 140, line 10. Holland, as the greatest of the Dutch Provinces, often lends its name to them all.

GENERAL AUTHORITIES

112. Davies, *History of Holland.*
113. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York.*
114. Campbell, *The Puritan in England, Holland, and America.*
115. Roberts, *New York: The Planting and the Growth.*
116. Motley, *Barneveld.*

Also: **8, 10, 39, 57, 60, 66, 69, 71, 85, 92, 104, 105.**

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117. Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America.*
118. Channing, *Student's History of the United States.*
119. McLaughlin, *History of the American Nation.*

Also: **8, 10, 39, 57, 60, 66, 69, 71, 85, 91, 104, 105, 113, 115.**

CHAPTER IX

120. Page 170, line 3. To test this statement, compare the picturesque account of Van Twiller in *Knickerbocker* with that in **113.**

GENERAL AUTHORITIES

121. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England.*
122. Johnston, *Connecticut.*
123. Passano, *History of Maryland.*
124. Hodges, *William Penn.*

See also: **8, 10, 12, 39, 55, 57, 59, 60, 66, 69, 70, 71, 85, 88, 91, 92, 96, 104, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118.**

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CHAPTER X

125. Page 197, line 1. The statement is based on the best evidence available.

126. Page 201, line 20. See letters in *N. Y. Evening Post*, October issues, 1903, for a discussion of this point.

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127. Maine, *Ancient Law.*

128. Dexter, *Story of the Pilgrims.*

129. Woods, *Captain John Smith.*

130. MacDonald, *Select Charters Illustrative of American History.*

131. Griffis, *The Pilgrims in their three Homes, England, Holland, and America.*

132. Dexter, *History of Congregationalism.*

133. Bacon, *History of the Congregational Church.*

Also: **8, 10, 16, 29, 35, 36, 39, 52, 56, 57, 60, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 85, 88, 91, 92, 96, 103, 104, 105, 106, 112, 114, 118, 119, 121.**

CHAPTER XI

134. Page 213, line 20. The term "dissenters" did not come into use until the reign of Charles II. To this day, it is only a general designation. Protestant was a direct designation, and Protestants became differentiated. "Dissenter" is a mere collective term.

135. Page 217, line 20. Because the clergy represent the learning of the past, that is, conservatism.

136. Page 219, line 28. For a criticism of the character of Winthrop, see **114** and **250.**

137. Page 233, line 2. Liberty means a freedom, an exemption. This implies that the ordinary condition of mankind is bondage or servitude. Philology and Latin custom give us the clue to the meaning of the term as used by the English at this time.

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138. Fisher, *The Colonial Era.*

139. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History.*

Also: **8, 10, 39, 52, 56, 60, 66, 69, 70, 85, 88, 91, 92, 96, 104, 105, 106, 114, 118, 119, 121, 131.**

CHAPTER XII

140. Page 241, line 4. This topic, under the general term, "consciousness of kind," is discussed fully in Giddings, *Principles of Sociology.*

141. Page 242, line 17. See Preface, King James' Version of Bible.

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142. Page 249, line 19. For a thorough discussion of this subject, see **69.** Its importance in colonial history is not likely ever to be overrated.

143. Page 250, lines 25 and 28. Massachusetts Bay means the colony, while Massachusetts bay means the body of water. To be consistent, the form has been carried out in Block island. See *Publisher's Announcement.* Exceptions had to be made where adjectives formed part of the name, e. g., Long Island, Baltic Sea.

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144. Straus, *Roger Williams.*
145. Winthrop, *John Winthrop.*
146. *Old South Leaflets.*
147. Hart, *Source Book of American History.*

Also: **8, 10, 17, 39, 48, 52, 55, 56, 57, 60, 66, 69, 70, 85, 88, 91, 92, 96, 100, 104, 105, 106, 114, 118, 119, 121, 122, 130.**

CHAPTER XIII

AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

148. Brown, *Baltimore and Calvert.*
149. *Johns Hopkins University Studies.*

Also: **8, 39, 60, 62, 66, 69, 74, 92, 97, 104, 105, 123, 138.**

CHAPTER XIV

150. Page 281, line 10. "A viking" literally means making a home by the sea. It came to mean finding support anywhere upon sea or shore, that is, adventure, piracy, pillage.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

151. *Publications*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Also: **8, 13, 39, 51, 54, 57, 60, 66, 69, 85, 92, 104, 105, 113, 114, 117.**

CHAPTER XV

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152. Caldecott and Kirkpatrick, *English Colonisation and Empire.*
153. Smith, *South Carolina.*
154. Smith, *The United States: A Political History.*
155. McCrady, *History of South Carolina.*

Also: **8, 10, 16, 39, 48, 52, 55, 57, 60, 62, 66, 69, 70, 85, 88, 91, 104, 105, 108, 109, 118, 119, 130, 138, 146, 147, 149.**

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CHAPTER XVI

156. Page 300, line 28. At the present time there is a local discrimination as to the sites.

157. Page 304, line 25. There are many passages in the writings of Shakspere that show the common opinion of lawyers.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

158. Gordon, *History of New Jersey.*
159. Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania.*
160. Fisher, *The True William Penn.*
161. Proud, *History of Pennsylvania.*
162. *Collections, etc. New Jersey Historical Society.*
163. Sharpless, *History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania.*
164. *Columbia University Studies in History.*
165. Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova Cæsaria or New Jersey.*
166. Hodges, *William Penn.*

Also: **8, 10, 39, 48, 52, 57, 60, 66, 69, 70, 85, 89, 92, 104, 105, 113, 118, 119, 130, 149, 151, 154.**

CHAPTER XVII

167. Page 311, line 2. The tendency in progressive government is always away from taxation of persons to the taxation of property. The history of poll taxes is long and interesting. **See 88.**

AUTHORITIES FOR THE CHAPTER

168. Lee, *Source Book of English History.*
169. West, *Modern History.*
170. Fisher, *Universal History.*
171. Myers, *General History.*
172. Elson, *United States History.*
173. Scott, *Development of Constitutional Liberty.*
174. Bluntschli, *Theory of the State.*
175. Fiske, *New France and New England.*
176. Lodge, *Short History of the American Colonies.*
177. Stockton, *Buccaneers and Pirates of our Coasts.*
178. Ferguson, *Essays on American History.*
179. *Publications*, etc., Massachusetts Historical Society.
180. *Collections*, etc., New York Historical Society.
181. Anderson and Flick, *Short History of the State of New York.*
182. Oliver, *The Puritan Commonwealth.*
183. Palfrey, *History of New England.*
184. Montgomery, *Students' American History.* References.
185. Johnston, *History of the United States.*

Also: **8, 10, 13, 39, 48, 52, 55, 57, 60, 62, 69, 70, 72, 74, 85, 86, 89, 92, 93, 97, 100, 104, 105, 106, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121, 138, 149, 151, 154, 164.**

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186. Bourinot, *Canada.*
187. *Publications*, Royal Society of Canada.
188. Parkman, *Old Regime in Canada.*
189. Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.*
190. Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France.*

Also: 8, 29, 37, 39, 57, 69, 70, 82, 113, 104, 105, 106, 115, 149, 152, 175, 180.

PART TWO

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8, 57, 60, 62, 66, 74, 85, 96, 104, 105, 106, 113, 117, 138, 172, 184.

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8, 13, 48, 52, 57, 66, 70, 92, 97, 104, 105, 106, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 169, 172, 176, 179, 190.

PART THREE

Industry:—Habitual diligence in gainful occupations.

AUTHORITIES FOR ALL CHAPTERS

191. Walker, *Monographs on Colonial Industry, Census U. S., etc.*
192. Stith, *History of Virginia.*
193. Beverly, *History of Virginia.*
194. Moore, *Patent Office.*
195. *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 1649.
196. *American Museum.*
197. Watson, *Annals of New York.*
198. Andros, *Governor's Reports.*
199. *Documentary History of New York.*
200. Young, *Chronicles of Plymouth.*
201. Belknap, *New Hampshire.*
202. Sullivan, *History of Maine.*
203. *Maine Historical Collections.*
204. *Records of Governor and Company of Massachusetts.*
205. Caulkin, *History of New London.*
206. Lewis, *History of Lynn.*
207. Barber and Hawes, *Historical Collection.*
208. Ferris, *History of the Swedes on the Delaware.*

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209. Day, *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.*
210. Chalmers, *Political Annals.*
211. Higginson, *New England Plantation.*
212. *Annals of Providence.*
213. Felt, *Annals of Salem.*
214. Drake, *Antiquities of Boston.*
215. Hammond, *Leah and Rachel.*
216. Bradford, *History of Plymouth.*
217. *Merchants' Magazine.*
218. *Magazine of American History.*
219. Holmes, *Annals.*
220. Bond, *History of Watertown.*
221. *New Haven Colonial Records.*
222. Valentine, *History of the City of New York.*
223. Todd, *History of the City of New York.*
224. Dunlop, *History of New York.*
225. Whitehead, *East Jersey.*
226. *Plantagenet's New Albion.*
227. Savage, *Winthrop.*
228. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut.*

Also: **8, 10, 104, 105, 121, 183.**

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230. Kidd, *Western Civilisation.*
231. Fiske, *Civil Government.*
232. Strong and Schaeffer, *Government of the American People.*
233. Child, *American History.*

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235. Brown, *Making of the Middle Schools.*
236. Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School-Books.*
237. Boone, *Education in the United States.*

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239. Lawton, *History of American Literature.*
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242. Bates, *History of American Literature.*
243. Stedman, *American Anthology.*
244. Stedman and Hutchinson, *Library of American Literature.*
245. Wright, *American Literature.*
246. Pancoast, *American Literature.*
247. Painter, *American Literature.*
248. Abernethy, *American Literature.*
249. Johnson, *History of English and American Literature.*
250. Larned, *Literature of American History.* The greatest bibliography yet published.

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252. Fisher, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times.*
253. Bryant, Gay, and Brooks, *History of the United States.*
254. Wilson, *History of the City of New York.*
255. Janvier, *The Dutch Founding of New York, etc.*
256. Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac.* Introduction.
257. Shaler, *The United States of America.*

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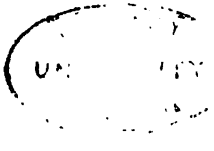
NOTE.—For a discussion of the value of primary and secondary authorities, and for distinctions among primary authorities, see Chancellor, *Present Aspects of History.*



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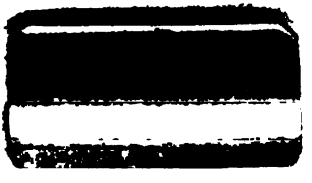

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